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ABSTRACT

This book describes self-education within community organizations in Cape Town (South Africa) where a primary concern was the promotion of democratic participation. Part I describes the participatory research approach. Part II focuses on the historical contexts in which voluntary associations have developed and the specific theory and practice that pertain to voluntary associations. Part III discusses the literature, then focuses on three social theorists influential within community adult education--Ivan Illich, Paulo Freire, and Antonio Gramsci. It also identifies conceptual tools to be used for the analysis of the self-education strategies. Part IV provides background information on the relationship of new voluntary organizations to others in Cape Town and demographic and other pertinent information concerning Cape Town. Part V presents empirical data from three case studies of service and resource agencies established in Cape Town in the late 1970s. Presentation of the case studies follows this format: research process, relationship between macro and micro organizational contexts, internal processes: sharing responsibility, and what helps or hinders the sharing of responsibility. Part VI interprets data that focus on the relationship between the macro and micro organizational contexts and the internal functioning of the organizations. Appendixes include a checklist of categories for the investigation of the cases, resolutions adopted at the 1984 National Conference of Rape Crisis Organisations held in Cape Town, the survey instrument, and a synopsis of the main findings. Contains 230 references. (YLB)

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EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION

Shirley Walters

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ADULT AND NONFORMAL EDUCATION THESIS SERIES

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION

An analysis of self-education strategies within certain community organisations in Cape Town in the 1980s

SHIRLEY WALTERS

Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE)
University of the Western Cape

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FOREWORD

In its mission statement *UWC Objectives*, accepted by Senate and Council in 1982, the University of the Western Cape defined its socio-political location and committed itself to a range of educational activities congruent with that location. The University recognises the structured nature of social, political and economic advantage and disadvantage in South African society, rejects the politico-ideological grounds on which it was established as an institution to serve those structures of inequality, and locates itself as an educational agency serving the forces of social change and transformation. One of the activities to which the institution committed itself in its mission statement is that of continuing education.

The Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE) therefore represents a central educational concern of the University of the Western Cape. Established in April 1985, the Centre has contributed to a broadening of our understanding of the role of a university in society: the Centre does not function merely as an adjunct to the 'core activities' of the University, but has influenced the central educational debate in the institution. The University attempts to take seriously its relationship with the 'community' and the manner in which that relationship influences teaching, learning and research in the University. Our understanding of concepts like 'democracy' and 'accountability', which are such key ones in the on-going institutional debate, must be informed by the institution's understanding of the relationship with the 'community'. And CACE has been a primary agency for bringing that debate into focus.

CACE's *Adult and Non-Formal Education Thesis Series*, of which this work is the first, is a further significant contribution in this regard. While the University explores new modes of educational activity, it is the content and quality of theory it generates that will be decisive in ultimately evaluating our contribution. This publication series sets out to contribute to the theoretical debate over non-formal education.

G J Gerwel
Rector and Vice-Chancellor
University of the Western Cape

PREFACE

This work was originally presented as a Ph. D. dissertation to the Universityof Cape Town, in 1985.

The thesis reached completion thanks to the inspiration, support and constructive criticism of others. I wish to express my gratitude to: the members of the Anthropology Dept. U.C.T., Rhoda Bertelsman, Yvonne Chetty, C.R.I.C. staff, Dave Donald, Ferdie Engel, Inez and Charles Ferris, Trish Flederman, Sally Frankenthal, Paul Hare, Brian Heuvel, Sandy Lazarus, Francie Lund, Mavis Makeleni, Mizana Matiwana, Noma-India Mfeketo, Clive Millar, Frank Molteno, Tony Morphet, Steve O'Dowd, Cyelle Pollock, Rape Crisis members, Shelly Sacks, Angela Schaffer, Rachel Sharp, Shelly Simonsz, Crain Soudien, John Turner, Hester van der Walt, Graham van Wyk, Ingrid Weiderman, Gerry Wheale, Caroline White and members of Zakhe.

I wish to express very special thanks to my supervisor, Peter Kallaway, and to my close friend, Johan Walters.

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Part I

Introductory

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the informal and nonformal educational practices within certain community resource and service agencies, which have formed a part of an emergent social movement[1] in Cape Town in the early 1980s. It aims:

> To describe and explain the self-educational practices within these community organisations at a particular historical juncture.[2]

Self-education here is defined as a conscious strategy which is used by members of community organisations to develop the capabilities of their own membership to participate fully in the management and administration of their organisations. The study therefore focuses on the strategies used within community organisations for the imparting of participatory democratic leadership skills. The study is illuminative and explanatory, rather than evaluative.[3]

The rationale for the study is twofold. Firstly, the investigation is in response to pleas within the adult education literature[4] for research to be undertaken which examines educational practices within voluntary associations and social movements. Gelpi[5] argues that some of the most exciting and innovative educational work is occuring outside of educational institutions, within organisations such as youth movements, local voluntary associations, trade unions, and cooperatives. There is little research of these educational activities, and therefore little theoretical understanding of them. Gelpi also points out that in periods of social change, popular movements and their educational initiatives appear to be particularly significant and therefore, he argues, they need to be the focus of adult education research.

The second reason for the study,which relates to the first, is that in the early 1980s, conditions in Cape Town were such, that a wide range of extra-parliamentary, community and worker organisations were established, and they were engaging in diverse, innovative educational practices. The opportunity to study the innovative educational practices within such organisations, as recommended by Gelpi, therefore presented itself, and I was in a position to take this opportunity.

A central assumption within the study is that it is impossible to talk meaningfully about educational processes within voluntary associations without first looking at the organisational and social context in which they are operating. Organisational practices are very much integrated into and determined by the political, economic and ideological forces.[6] The study therefore includes an historical perspective on voluntary associations in general and of the voluntary associations in Cape Town in particular.

SEQUENCE OF THE STUDY

The planned sequence of the thesis begins with a review of the literature both of Voluntary Associations and Community Adult Education. Despite the fact that there is no body of literature which pertains directly to the field of study, the review will include detailed commentary on three social theorists who have contributed substantially to Adult Education in general and Community Adult Education in particular. They are Ivan Illich, Paulo Freire and Antonio Gramsci. The purpose of the reviews is to locate the study in the context of the embryonic literature, to provide a conceptual backdrop for the study and to identify suitable conceptual tools for the analysis of the empirical data.

The second phase of the sequence is a presentation of the three case studies which will be located historically within the broader socio-political context. The self-educational practices will be analysed both through use of the conceptual tools developed in the first phase and by relating the practices to the broader context.

The third and final phase of the thesis will concentrate on an interpretation of the educational practices within the case studies in the light of the discussions developed within the earlier sections.On the basis of this interpretation judgements will be offered concerning the significance of the educational practices and the value of the conceptual tools for the study of education within community organisations. In this way the main aim of the thesis will be achieved.

RESEARCH APPROACH

The overall research approach that was employed from the outset was the Participatory Research Approach (PRA), as defined in the adult education literature.[7] This approach demands that the research integrates 'investigation, education and action'. Unlike conventional anthropological research strategies, it sets out to actively engage with, and thus influence, the research subjects.

Within the framework of the PRA, a research strategy was adopted which was similar to that advocated by Glaser and Strauss[8] for the development of grounded theory, which is a strategy where as far as possible a generative rather than a verificatory approach is adopted. Grounded theory means freely using qualitative data in an attempt to derive categories, concepts and theory from the data rather than using the data as a means of testing already formulated theory. It implies an ongoing interplay between the empirical data and existing theories as the research moves towards the generation of new theory. The research proceeds from the particular to the general - it is an inductive rather than a deductive research approach.

The PRA is a form of action research. Action research has developed as a reaction to the dominant research paradigm of positivism of the 1950's and 1960's. The dominant view has been that research is an objective, value free science. A wide number of writers from a range of disciplines have developed criticisms of positivist methodology in the social sciences.[9] Increasingly social researchers have come to question the reliance of researchers on quantitative methods of social enquiry. As Pilsworth and Ruddock[10] point out:

> these methods are still dominant in education, social welfare and government. Investigators in these fields commonly suppose that to adopt an orthodox research approach is to be somehow 'scientific' and, therefore, virtuous. Increasingly elaborate techniques have been devised, often based on sophisticated statistical procedures, with the overall effect of widening the gap between the researcher and his subject of study. We now possess a wealth of facts and figures about specific aspects of the educational process; yet we seem to understand less and less about human behaviour.

Action research is an approach which sets out to counter consciously the dominant norms within traditional social research. It demands 'involvement' rather than 'detachment' from the researcher. As Morphet[11] notes:

> It takes as its starting points the presence of the researcher acting *within* the situation being studied. It recognises as one of its ground rules that the situation under study is *in process* – by that I mean that the full range of dynamics, both the micro interpersonal exchanges and the extended social pressure which shape the situation, are important issues of interest.

Action research is thus concerned with the relationship between the researcher and those being researched, with the process of the research and the outcomes of the research. PRA, as will be elaborated later, is similarly concerned with these aspects of research. However, coming out of the adult education tradition, it has a particular commitment to the educational value of the research process for all participants. It is this specific commitment, which is tied into the 'investigation and action' components, which distinguishes it from other forms of action research.

Although it may not be normal practice in theses of this nature to elaborate in any detail on the research approach, because of the integral part that the research process played within the investigation as a whole, it does require some further discussion. A brief overview of the theoretical and practical research concerns will therefore be given.

Research strategies for the study of voluntary associations most frequently include surveys and case studies.[12] The strategies are, as Butcher[13] points out, not 'adopted wholly on scientific criteria, but result from a mixture of methodological preference and contingent opportunity'. Therefore he argues that it is important that case studies of voluntary associations, are read with some understanding of how the research developed and how the methodology was used.

The research strategies described in the literature, have included participant observation, which is a 'being everywhere and knowing everything' approach, and a short term, more intensive approach which involves, for example, surveys, interviews and historical research. There appear to be advantages and disadvantages in both approaches. Participant observation is described by Mc Call and Simons[14] as:

> involv(ing) some amount of genuine social interaction in the field with the subjects of the study, some direct observation of relevant events, some formal and a great deal of informal interviewing, some systematic counting, some systematic collection of documents and artefacts, and open-endedness in the directions of the study.

As Becker and Geer[15] have pointed out the value of participant observation is that it provides a rich, experiential context through which one can:

> become aware of incongruous or unexplained facts ... [become] sensitive to their possible implications and connections with other observed facts, and thus continually revise and adapt one's theoretical orientation and specific problems in the direction of greater relevance to the phenomena under study.

In contrast to participant observation, Butcher describes the advantages of the short term, intensive approach, as being the researcher's possible access to a wider range of opposing perspectives. He argues that a 'visiting' researcher, particularly one not known to the group, is more likely to obtain evidence from all sides than is the person who has been closely involved with the group over a long period of time. On the other hand, it is acknowledged that a defect of the intensive, short term investigation, is that the researcher obtains limited, second-hand perspectives on organisational or historical events.

Freeman, Butcher and Gittell[16] all argue for a combination of participant observation, and other, more direct forms of data collection (e.g. questionnaires). They argue that there is a need to obtain distance from the research situation, in order to gain a degree of objectivity. Freeman[17] found that in the first phase of her research, she was intensively involved with the Women's Movement on a day-to-day basis. Later she withdrew from active involvement, and followed activities in an indirect way through friends and publications. This sequence of active participation followed by indirect involvement, she believes, afforded her with a more informed perspective on the area of study than would be possible for anyone who was either a participant or primarily an observer.

The inevitability of subjective interpretations of the data by the researchers was acknowledged in the abovementioned studies.

The researchers recognised that with the use of qualitative research methods there was no watertight mechanism to ensure the validity and the reliability of the data. Subjective judgement and bias are perennial problems for action research. As Morphet[18] explains, the safeguard which action research offers against these problems is that the fundamental rationale of the method is for the researcher to expose everything to scrutiny. The researcher's vested interest is not in the success or failure of a prized theory but in understanding what took place. As Marris[19] puts it 'a study of community groups is a study of contemporary political history'. Therefore he says:

> From the perspective of differing ideologies and interests, the same history reveals different patterns, which are all insights into its meanings though their implications may be contradictory. Hence the researcher has to decide for whose interest he speaks, and whom he is seeking to influence, while still recognising that the force of his argument depends on the intellectual integrity of his analysis, not his commitment.

An important question for the judging of research then becomes, not whether or not the researcher is 'neutral', but whether an adequate degree of intellectual integrity has been achieved.

Research amongst community groups in the South African context is particularly problematic. In aprevious study[20] in which I interviewed twenty-five local community workers, it was very clear that the political differences between individuals and groups resulted in a deep suspicion of, amongst others, funders and personnel from educational institutions, who were offering 'help'. Academic research was particularly suspect.[21] Research, therefore, if it was to be undertaken at all, needed to be negotiated and developed in such a way as to be mutually beneficial to all parties. The PRA appeared to offer a possible way forward because of its commitments to 'investigation, education and action'.

PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH APPROACH

PRA as used in this study refers to the work which is actively promoted by the Participatory Research Group Network in Canada.[22] Background to PRA and key aspects of its theory will be presented briefly. This will be followed by an elaboration of important contradictions and issues which have emerged through the research process.

The PRA has arisen mainly out of Third World experience in which the serious incompatibility of traditional social research methods and the needs and problems of Third World societies has become very clear. Experimentation by social scientists in Tanzania and some South American countries[23] was undertaken to explore more committed forms of research. Consciousness of the problem also grew in Europe and North America due to the dysfunctionality of one-way, detached research in a world of immediate and urgent problems.[24] There was thorough questioning of, for example, the means and ends of social research, the relationship between the researcher and the subjects of the research, and the political implications of research.

In the Third World, questions about social research were necessarily posed in the light of basic development goals, for example, increased food production, and mass literacy campaigns. Furthermore these goals were set against a background of escalating anti-imperialist struggles and strengthening capitalist penetration. The answers to many of the questions were couched in humanist and populist terms, that looked to 'the people', 'the nation', 'the oppressed' as its subject. In this context, it was recognised, that social research had to be directed towards 'liberation'. 'Development' and 'liberation', as concepts within this literature have unspecified content, and generally were seen as synonymous. The social researcher often became a self-conscious actor and participant in the process of 'development and liberation'.

There is not much comprehensive material on the epistemology of PRA.[25] It seems that it has roots in Pragmatism, Existentialism and Marxism. In the various critiques of PRA from social scientists within the PRA tradition, charges are levelled against either its idealist, pragmatist or historical materialist leanings, depending on the theoretical framework of the critics.[26] These differences clearly effect the interpretation of PRA theory and practice and these debates permeate the literature.[27]

Key concerns of PRA relate to the research process, the goal of the research and the relationship between the researcher and the subjects of the research. Each of these will be discussed briefly.

The research process is crucial within PRA as researchers reject the distinction made between means and ends of research.[28] There are three interrelated processes within PRA which cannot be separated, and which some writers[29] believe give PRA 'its fundamental strength and power': social investigation, education and action.

Since PRA comes out of the adult education tradition, certain principles of adult education are a central foundation. These principles, in very general terms, assume a commitment to adults participating actively in the world, and deciding what they want to learn and the best way to learn it.PRA is therefore a research and educational approach which has a commitment to the learning process of those engaged in the research. It is also committed to action which demands 'involvement' rather than 'detachment' from those concerned.

The people engaged in PRA share a dissatisfaction with the existing social order, a commitment to improving the social conditions of 'the oppressed', and a commitment to a research and education process which involves the active participation of local people. However, there are differences among those involved in PRA depending on their differing political viewpoints. All are working towards some form of social change : for some this means class struggle leading to a socialist future, for others it means dialogue and adjustment leading to social reform within the existing social relations.

The commitment to 'improving the social conditions amongst the oppressed' is clearly a political commitment. Those engaged in PRA acknowledge that within the debate about the nature of social science are views of man and society with profound political repercussions. This has important implications for the researchers, because as Webster[30] has argued:

> Questions intellectuals ask are crucially shaped by the ways in which they are linked to political practice.

The lack of explicit elaboration within PRA on the nature of the desired forms of social change, contributes to a lack of clarity in PRA in general, and is an important criticism of PRA.

One of the aims of PRA is to bridge the traditional gulf between the researcher and 'the researched'. The ideal is a form of cooperative enquiry between all involved in which:

- all, together identify the problem
- the educational value in the process is maximised
- the control of the research lies with the people involved
- awareness in people of their own abilities and resources is strengthened
- those with specialised knowledge and skills, often from outside the situation, are committed participants and learners in a process which leads to militancy rather than detachment
- critical and collective analysis that establishes and maintains control in the hands of the people and explicitly rejects manipulation, is advocated.

Those engaged in PRA are concerned with striving to attain an equal relationship between all those involved in the research process, however, the rationale differs depending on the theoretical framework used. Some of Humanist /Existentialist /Pragmatist tendencies, may stress the importance of subjective experience of the people involved, whilst the Marxists are more likely to emphasise the erosion of the mental-manual division of labour in the research process.

With this theoretical discussion concerning the research approach in mind, the design of the research will now be described.

RESEARCH DESIGN

As Butcher was quoted as saying, research strategies are a mixture of 'methodological preference and contingent opportunity'.

This reflects the reality of the research approach and design that was developed. The initial stages of the investigation involved a range of different strategies, all of which were designed to immerse me, as participant observer, in the research context. The most significant of these was a negotiated, and intensive PR relationship with one community resource and service agency, Zakhe, over an eighteen month period. During this time the PRA was consciously used and developed, and this period culminated in Zakhe hosting a one day workshop on 'Self- Management in Community Agencies' which was attended by fifty- four people from fifteen local agencies.[31] The data gathered from this occasion was rich, and provided substantial background for the more intensive case studies.[32]

The choice of the agency with which I worked, was determined largely by 'contingent opportunity'. I had had a relationship with certain members of Zakhe for several years, and was thus approached for assistance in the running of a training module spread over a four month period, as part of their in-service training programme. During the course of my involvement with them, ideas for the research project were developed, and finally a research relationship negotiated with all members. The decision to study educational practices within agencies, rather than for example civic associations, was also based on contingent opportunity.

The climate amongst the emerging movement of worker and community organisations in mid-1982 in Cape Town was politically charged and will be discussed in detail in Part Four. The community service agencies, were sufficiently peripheral to the explicit political activities although in close touch with developments, to allow easier research access. The educational and class backgrounds of members of the agencies, which were predominantly petty bourgeois, and my own social location, plus my involvement in community service agencies in the previous seven years, presumably also made the agencies more accessible to me for research purposes.

Additional, important strategies during this phase of the research, included my active membership of three other voluntary associations, which had emerged in the early 1980s, and which formed a part of the incipient social movement.[33] I also availed myself of the opportunity, when invited, to act in the capacityof organisational consultant/facilitator, to five other voluntary associations. These engagements provided brief, but in-depth opportunities for general immersion in the context.

The second stage of the research process included a distancing from the intensive involvement with organisations, although there was not a total withdrawal. A checklist for the collection and classification of the data on education within the case studies had begun to emerge during the intensive period of participant observation within Zakhe (see Appendix One). During that time there was ongoing interaction between the empirical data and the theoretical perspectives gained from the literature. The emergent checklist was inevitably influenced by both aspects of the research process.

With this emergent checklist in mind, two additional agencies were approached, and a short term, more structured research relationship was entered into. The choice of the cases was again determined by both methodological considerations and contingent opportunity. Basic criteria for the choice of cases, were : they were resource and service agencies; they were established in the late 1970s in Cape Town; they were concerned with organisational processes, as well as organisational tasks; they each had differing organisational structures, histories, and services. Each of the cases were represented at the Self-Management Workshop held by Zakhe.

The primary research strategies used with each case study consisted of:

- a content analysis of all documents including minutes, reports, constitutions, and any other relevant material from the inception of the organisations until the present day;
- semi-structured interviews with the membership which lasted on average between one and a half to two hours, and which were based on the checklist (see Appendix One);
- participant observation which included intensive periods as both observer and participant within each of the organisations.

A more detailed description of the research strategies and the research relationships which were negotiated with each case study will be given in the introductions to the cases.

During this phase of the research an historical perspective of the development of the local organisations was also obtained, through an analysis of local literature and interviews with twelve people who had been involved in community organisations in Cape Town during the 1970s and 1980s. The interviews were semi- structured and took the form of case histories which focused on the involvement of the interviewees in voluntary associations during specific periods.[34]

The third and final stage of the research process was an essential ingredient in order to attain 'intellectual integrity', and avoid the possible danger of solipsism.[35] An historical perspective was gained both on the local situation, and on the intellectual tradition conveyed in the literature. A set of analytical tools was identified from the literature which would be used to help probe and make sense of the data. The 'set of tools' was applied during the discussions of the work of three social theorists, Illich, Freire and Gramsci, in order both to test the usefulness of the 'tools' and to give more nuanced meanings to them. The usefulness of the tools for the analysis of the empirical data was then considered in the light of emerging empirical data and their value during the theoretical discussions. The empirical data from the three case studies were then analysed with the use of these conceptual tools.

CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH APPROACH[36]

The PRA provided an essential ingredient in the initial, and crucial stage of the research design. It was during this time that a necessary degree of trust was developed and the research problem was more clearly defined. The educational component, which led to collective action in the form of a one day workshop for other agencies, and then the publication of the workshop report, provided rich, collective learning experiences for us all.[37]

The cohesion of the group was also helped by the fact that we all were members of organisations which formed part of the emergent movement, and thus had common social and political goals. It is difficult to imagine being able to engage in PRA, where manipulation is explicitily rejected, unless there are these common political objectives. The PRA literature, on the whole does not highlight the possibilities of conflicting interests, but seems to assume consensus amongst the research participants.

During the first phase, the conflicting interests between the 'practitioners' and the 'researcher', also needed to be acknowledged. These differences have been usefully elaborated by Leonard and Skipper,[38] in an article on 'Integrating theory and practice'. They believe that a recognition of the 'two cultures' is a prelude to action orientated research. The theoretical, and analytical rigour which distinguishes 'research' from, for example, community work is not usually of interest to practitioners, who are most concerned with practical results. The tensions between action and reflection, theory and practice, which are real concerns for the PRA, are also concerns within the case studies, and will therefore be discussed at length later. For the moment it is important to note this tension, and to raise the question concerning the possibilities within the PRA for the erosion of the manual-mental division of labour.

For the sake of scientific research and intellectual integrity, it was necessary for me to become progressively less intensely involved with the case studies. PRA was utilised in the first case study. The research problem was identified by the researcher and the members of Zakhe and the research process included 'investigation, education and action'. This process is described in the Zakhe case study. In the other case studies PRA was not used. The research problem had already been identified and there was no commitment to engage in specific 'action' and 'education'. The research relationships involved short term, negotiated commitments and responsibilities which are commonly accepted practice in action research. These include accountability to the organisations through ongoing feedback; sensitivity to the needs and goals of participants; openness about the goals and process of the research; time and energy commitment to the organisation during the research process. Data collection was done through participant observation, questionnaires, content analyses of organisational documentation and indepth interviews. These research strategies helped to provide a distance from the research context. They are described in detail at the beginning of each of the case studies.

The final point which will be discussed in relation to PRA, concerns the control of the research. PRA advocates control in the hands of the participants. There are two possible problems with this. Firstly, in research situations there often is a third party, in the form of a financial sponsor or an educational sponsor, as in the case of academic research, who will influence what is possible, thus limiting control by participants. Secondly, accountability is an issue which is not addressed adequately in the PRA literature. This relates back to the lack of clarity concerning the meaning of social change. This topic will also form an important part of later discussions, and therefore will not be addressed here.

TERMINOLOGY

In the text I have usually adhered to what has become conventional South African terminology for describing people inhabiting this country i.e. 'white', 'coloured', 'Indian' and 'African'. When referring collectively to the African, coloured and Indian sections of the population, I have used the term 'black', following what is today popular usage within these communities. On the whole I have tried to avoid the suggestion that these social categories each encapsulate a homogeneous group. In emphasising the social cleavages within each group and the bonds that exist between them I have used class-related concepts rather than those drawn from the study of ethnicity. Rather than using the rather clumsy expedient of placing inverted commas throughout, I have allowed the terms to stand.

NOTES TO PART ONE

Chapter One

1. The term 'social movement' has very wide application. I will not attempt to define it here. In this context it is used in a 'commonsense' way to define a growing number of organisations, which seemed to hold an increasingly common position with regard to the State, and which were promoting their convictions through more organised and sustained collective action on an ideological and practical level. According to Turner and Killian, as quoted in J. Freeman 1975 THE POLITICS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION NY: Longman Inc., p. 47, when this happens a social movement is incipient.

2. 'Describe' in this study means to answer the question 'what' in relation to the self-education strategies, while 'explain' aims to answer the question 'why' in relation to these practices.

3. Prior to the development and formulation of the research topic as it has been presented in this study I proposed to proceed with an evaluative study rather than a 'descriptive and explanatory' one. A tentative proposal (Research Diary p. 677 June 1982) to this end was discussed with the members of Zakhe and three other community organisations. The problems which I could anticipate from such an evaluative study emerged during these discussions in this exploratory phase. Problems related to the following:

   a) The task of evaluation' within most situations, but more particularly within Cape Town of 1982, was extremely sensitive. For example, I broached the subject with a leader of an organisation in Manenberg, a working class coloured township, in May 1982. His response revealed a very different understanding of an 'evaluation' project to the one I had. He saw evaluation as similar to a school examination which was set up to test and judge the merits and weaknesses of a particular project or body of knowledge. Evaluation for him meant 'summative evaluation'. 'Formative evaluation', which is designed to improve the work of the project in as many ways as possible during the life of the project and which is often conducted in a participatory way, was outside of his experience. When he suspected that I wanted to evaluate' his organisation he became hostile in his attitude towards me. Other research which I had done in 1982 confirmed the levels of mistrust amongst members of organisations to 'outsiders', particularly if they were attached to universities. Exploratory conversations in mid 1982 with two other people who were active in community organisations confirmed the sensitivities and the likely failure of an evaluative project within the organisations.

   b) I came to realise that in attempting to set up an evaluative research project which focused on processes withinthe organisations I had been making a number of assumptions regarding the nature and the rationale for certain practices within the organisations. I believed that these assumptions needed to be tested before an investigation of an evaluative kind could be done. I became more and more convinced through my involvement in the organisations that the internal practices in the organisations were affected in quite direct ways by the broader political, economic and social circumstances. It therefore became more important to understand, in order to explain, the practices at that particular historical juncture. I also believed that the research methods which would be required for an evaluative as opposed to a descriptive and explanatory study would be very different from one another.

I believed that an illuminative and explanatory study would lay the necessary groundwork for an evaluative study of self-educational practices.

4. For example, E. Gelpi 1979 A FUTURE FOR LIFELONG EDUCATION Manchester Monographs University of Manchester Press; R. Armstrong 'Towards the study of community action' in ADULT EDUCATION vol. 45 no. 1 May 1972; and R. Armstrong and C. T. Davies 'Community action, pressure groups and education' in ADULT EDUCATION vol. 50 no. 3 Sept. 1977.

5. Gelpi *ibid.*

6. This point is argued very thoroughly in S. Clegg and D. Dunkerly 1980 ORGANISATION CLASS AND CONTROL London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (RKP), and J. Wolff 'Women in organisations' in S. Clegg and D. Dunkerly 1977 ISSUES IN ORGANISATIONS London: RKP.

7. For example, Y. O. Kassam ed. 1982 PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH: AN EMERGING ALTERNATIVE METHODOLOGY IN SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH Dar es Salaam: Black Star Agency; A special edition of CONVERGENCE 'Participatory Research: Developments and Issues' vol. X1V no. 3 1981.

8. B. G. Glaser and A. L. Strauss 1967 THE DISCOVERY OF GROUNDED THEORY: STRATEGIES FOR QUALITATIVE RESEARCH Chicago: Aldine.

9. For example, B. Fay 1975 SOCIAL THEORY AND POLITICAL PRACTICE Britain: George Allen and Unwin Ltd; J. W. Filstead ed. 1970 QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY: FIRSTHAND INVOLVEMENT WITH THE SOCIAL WORLD USA: Markham Publ. Co.; P. Reason and R. Rowan ed. 1981 HUMAN INQUIRY: A SOURCEBOOK OF NEW PARADIGM RESEARCH London: John Wiley.

10. M. Pilsworth and R. Ruddock 'Persons, not responents: alternative approaches in the study of social processes' in B. Hall *et al* ed. 1982 CREATION OF KNOWLEDGE: A MONOPOLY? PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH IN DEVELOPMENT New Delhi Society for Participatory Research in Asia.

11. A. R. Morphet 'Action Research' in B. Steinberg ed. 1983 RESEARCH METHODS FOR HIGHER DEGREES Cape Town: Faculty of Education UCT.

12. For example, useful surveys have been done by J. Perlman 'Grassrooting the System' in SOCIAL POLICY 7 Sept. 1976; and M. Gittel *et al* 1980 LIMITS TO CITIZEN PARTICIPATION: THE DECLINE OF COMMUNITY ORGANISATION USA: Sage Publ. Examples of case studies are H. Butcher *et al* 1980 COMMUNITY GROUPS IN ACTION: CASE STUDIES AND ANALYSIS London: RKP; J. Freeman 1975 THE POLITICS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION New York: D. McKay.
13. *Ibid.*
14. As quoted in Freeman *op. cit.*
15. H. Becker and B. Greer 'Participant observation and interviewing: a comparison' in W. Filstead ed. 1970 *op. cit.*
16. *Op. cit.*
17. *Op. cit.*
18. *Op. cit.*
19. Quoted in Butcher *op. cit.*
20. S. Walters 1982 THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN CAPE IN ADULT EDUCATION Bellville: Institute for Social Development UWC.
21. This point is also noted in another local study by F. Lund and E. van Harte 1980 COMMUNITY WORK FOR DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE: ISD.
22. Participatory Research Group, 29 Prince Arthur Ave., Toronto.
23. For example the work of F. Vio Grossi in Chile, see 'Research in Adult Education in Latin America' in CONVERGENCE vol. XV11 no. 2 1984; and the JIPEMOYA project in Tanzania, see M. Swantz and H. Jerman ed. 1977 JIPEMOYA Dept. of Research and Planning, Tanzania and the Research Council for the Humanities, the Academy of Finland.
24. For example, P. Reason and R. Rowan ed. 1981 *op. cit.*
25. J. de Vries 'Science as human behaviour: on the epistemology of the Participatory Research Approach' in Linkoping University 1981 RESEARCH FOR THE PEOPLE RESEARCH BY THE PEOPLE Linkoping.
26. For example, D. Bryceson, L. Manicom and Y. Kassam 'The methodology of participatory research' in Kassam and Mustafa *op. cit.*
27. I have compiled a comprehensive bibliography of the PRA literature and have discussed the main debates in the literature in a published paper: S. Walters 'Participatory Research' in M. B. Steinberg and S. Philcox ed. 1983 RESEARCH METHODS FOR HIGHER DEGREES Faculty of Education UCT 1983.
28. B. Fay 1975 *op. cit.* argues against the separation of means and ends.

29. For example, Society for Participatory Research in Asia 1982. PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH: AN INTRODUCTION New Delhi: Society for PR in Asia.

30. E. Webster 'The state, crisis and the university: the social scientist's dilemma' in PERSPECTIVES IN EDUCATION vol. 6 no. 3 1982

31. The agencies represented were: the ADULT LEARNING PROJECT (ALP) which coordinates and runs literacy classes; the CRIC which helps people to make informed career decisions; COMMUNITY HEALTH RESEARCH PROJECT (CHRP) which provides resources, information and research on health issues; the COOPERATIVE WHOLE FOODS GROUP (Food Co-op) which provides whole foods to members and educates about food; the EDUCARE CENTRE which offers childcare facilities for members of UCT; the GENERAL WORKERS AID SERVICE (GWU Aid) which is linked to the General Workers' Union, and provides an information and legal aid service to workers; GRASSROOTS PUBLICATION publishes a regular newsletter; HEALTH CARE TRUST promotes health issues through resources and education to community organisations; KOEBERG ALERT educates and campaigns around nuclear power; MOLO SONGOLO publishes a regular children's magazine; RAPE CRISIS (RCCT) provides a counselling service for rape survivors and educates about rape; TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROJECT (TAP) assists with technical advice to community groups; ULWAZO CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (UCA) is an alternative education institution; VUKUZENZELE is a textile co-operative; and ZAKHE which promotes co-operatives and collective action by providing resources and information for organisations.

32. A report was published by Zakhe which described the workshop, 'Democracy within community agencies: A report on a workshop Sept. 1983' Zakhe Resources for Cooperative Development

33. I was a member of Grassroots Publication the United Women's Organisation and the Ad Hoc Detainees Action Committee (ADAC).

34. The interviews were held during the last part of 1984 and early in 1985. Six of the interviewees had had links with the churches during the 1970s - this included the Catholic, the Moravian, the Methodist and Anglican churches, with one working for the Christian Institute, and another attending the NYLTP course, The classification of the interviewees was as follows: 5 coloured, 5 white and 2 African. Three had had previous links with the BCM and at present 8 would align themselves with the UDF, and 3 with CAL/BC, while 1 is no longer involved in political organisation.

35. A. R. Morphet 'University involvement in Adult Education' M. Phil. Thesis 1984 UCT, describes solipsism, 'as the result of a situation in which the researcher creates data required to fit an interpretation, which he (sic) has inserted into the material in the first instance'. p. 21.

36. I have raised some of these issues in an article, 'Participatory research: theory and practice' in PERSPECTIVES IN EDUCATION vol. 7 no. 3 Dec. 1983.

37. In interviews with all staff in September 1982, in informal conversations during the course of 1983, and in an interview in October 1984 with one member, the PR group was mentioned as having significantly helped members in the development of a deeper understanding of democratic practices both in Zakhe and in other organisations. These observations have however to be reported circumspectly, as no independent evaluation was done.

38. R. Leonard and J. Skipper 'Integrating theory and practice' in R. O'Toole ed. 1971 THE ORGANISATION, MANAGEMENT AND TACTICS OF SOCIAL RESEARCH USA: Schenkman Publ. Co. Inc.

Part II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The aim of Part Two is to develop an historical and theoretical perspective on voluntary associations in order to be able to locate the case studies within this body of literature. As mentioned in Part One, a central assumption for the study is that it is impossible to talk meaningfully about educational processes within community resource and service agencies without first looking at the organisational, ideological and social context in which they are operating. Organisational practices are very much integrated into and determined by political, economic, social and ideological forces. This section therefore focuses on both the broader historical contexts in which voluntary associations have developed particularly since the 1960s, and the specific theory and practice which pertains to voluntary associations.

Chapter Two

DEFINITIONS AND TYPOLOGIES OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Community agencies are a form of voluntary associations. The definition of a 'voluntary association' however is not clearcut. There are numerous definitions in the literature[1] and as Johnson[2] concludes, the definition of a voluntary association turns on four factors:

1. Method of formation: the organisation does not owe its existence to statutory authority but consists of a group of people who have come together voluntarily.
2. Method of government: the organization is self-governing and decides on its own constitution and its own policy. The members determine the activities,the services to be provided and the methods to be adopted. They are under no legal obligation to provide a service, and they can select their own clients.
3. Methods of finance: at least some of the organization's money should come from voluntary sources.
4. Motive: the organization should be non profit-making.

It should be noted that these factors are not absolute, and in certain countries like Britain, the relationship between voluntary associations and the statutory authorities is not clearcut. Much of the financing for the voluntary associations in fact often comes from the central or local government. The focus for this study, however is on voluntary associations which do not obtain any funding from the statutory authorities.

There are various typologies of voluntary associations that have been developed which will be elaborated very briefly. Morris[3] distinguishes between two broad categories, those organisations whose primary purpose is social service, and those which are concerned with the provision of leisure facilities. Murray[4] elaborates on the social service category by identifying three kinds of organisations in this area. First there are what he calls caring organisations: organisations whose services are provided by one group for another group. Second, there are the pressure groups, some of which combine pressure group activity with the provision of services. Finally there are organisations of the self-help category who concentrate on helping their own membership. He argues that the three kinds of organisations differ significantly in character and purposes. The characteristic relationship in a service-providing organisation is between voluntary or professional worker and the client; the providers and receivers of the service are two distinct groups. The characteristic relationship in the self-help organisation is that between members who share a social, physical or mental disability or who have a problem or need in common; the relationship is one of mutual aid, and there is no sharp distinction between providers and receivers of the services. Pressure groups are primarily concerned with relationships that go beyond the confines of the organisation and its members or clients.

Gordon and Babchuk[5] discuss a quite different classification. They develop a typology based on three variables: accessibility of membership, the status-defining capacity of the organisation, and the classification of organisational functions as instrumental or expressive. But, this typology is not very helpful for our purposes. On the one hand, status-defining capacity of an organisation is very difficult to evaluate, and on the other, most voluntary organisations incorporate both instrumental and expressive functions. By 'instrumental' the authors indicate an organisation that is primarily concerned with activities that take place outside the organisation. An expressive organisation they define as one which is mostly concerned with immediate gratification to its members. Relating this typology to Murray's classification, self-help organisations would fall more on the expressive end of an expressive-instrumental continuum, while service-providing organisations and pressure groups would tend to be at the instrumental end.

The classifications which are presented above, however, are of very limited use for understanding many present day voluntary associations. One of the main reasons is that the central distinction made between an external and internal focus for the organisation is clearly not universally valid. Many of the present day organisations have consciously integrated the instrumental and the expressive functions. Another problem with the typologies is that they are ahistorical and timeless. This is a common critique of much of the organisational theory literature.[6] An historical perspective on the development and the functioning of voluntary associations is necessary.

Historical perspective

The 1950s and 1960s saw a resurgence in the number of voluntary associations in both the United States of America and Britain. A number of reasons have been cited for this. In this section a synoptic view will be given of some of the important social and ideological forces which have helped to determine both the numbers and the different forms which voluntary associations have taken. Present day voluntary associations appear to have been strongly influenced by the developments particularly of the social movements of the 1960s and early 1970s,and also by actions of the Governments of the USA and Britain, and the churches. This section will not attempt to give a history of particular movements, but rather will highlight important ideological strands which have formed part of the context within which organisations operated. These ideological strands appear to have influenced the theory and practice within voluntary associations in important ways.

The importance of ideology as a 'material force' in history was given a new significance in the writings of Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci points to the importance of ideology as 'cement' which is able to bind together classes and class fractions into a social bloc. As he argues, ideologies are not individual fancies, but are embodied incollective and communal modes of acting and living. These points will be discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

Social movements

The growth and the form of many voluntary associations at this time seem to be largely a response by a wide range of people and organisations to the rapid social, political, economic and ideological changes which occurred after the

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Second World War.[8] People were responding to, amongst other things, rapid urbanisation and inner city impoverishment, the Cold War, the 'mass society' which was the result of technological modernism, industrialisation and the pervasiveness of bureaucracy.[9]

Young,[10] in a useful analysis of the 'New Left',[11] identifies five major strands by 1965, which represented the NL configuration. In some ways each represents an autonomous movement in itself:the student movement for university change (although students to some extent also formed the base of the other movements); the grassroots movement of radical blacks, developing first in the USA through the Students Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), towards black power; community action projects, which included the beginnings of a widespread movement of the poor; the nascent international movement against the war in Vietnam; and the cultural movement of the underground and the alternative society. All five overlapped in personnel and ideas, although the youthful counter-culture developed to some extent separately at first and after 1966 grew together with the NL as a whole. From the mid-1960s the Women's Liberation Movement also began to emerge.

The character of the NL appears to have been formed in the interpenetration of these various movements, and the common themes and strategies that linked them. In the literature[12] some of the common themes are described as: anti-bureaucracy; unity of theory and practice, which led to pragmatism; moralism with an emphasis on ends and means; pluralism; and internationalism. An important influence on the ideological developments within the NL at the time seems to have been the global tension dominated by the two vast military-industrial blocs, the USA and the USSR.

Increasingly, the apparent ideological difference between the two blocs was questioned, and a 'convergence theory' developed which stressed the similarity rather than the differences between them. The legitimacy of the Western states was being questioned and the hollowness of liberal rhetoric was challenged, with, for example, the build up of nuclear capability in the West, the colonial struggles, and the internal struggles for civil rights by minority groups. Russian Marxism was also discredited by the revelations about Stalin in 1956, and the Russian actions in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Communist Parties in Britain and the USA went into a decline. There was disillusionment with both Liberalism and Marxism. There seemed to be a predominant sense in the 1950s of a loss of human control within both ideological blocs. Marcuse[13] endorsed a radical version of the convergence theory:the common tendency to military build-up and bureaucratic centralism, their technical modernism and urbanism, the reactionary similarites of their industrialism – a critique of repressive civilization was seen to be applicable to any industrial society, not merely the capitalist mode of organisation. The theory of alienation was developed and applied to both

The radical libertarians were, according to Young, most willing to accept the convergence theory, while there were others who warned against its over-emphasis. The effect of these appraisals was new alignments between groups and individuals. In the USA there was a a self-conscious effort to revive an independent radical option 'beyond' either Liberalism or Marxism. Comprehending humanism, tolerance, and concern with civil rights and individual liberty, all of which the Marxist tradition had hitherto neglected, it merged these with a socialist insistence on economic justice and equality. In the journal *Liberation*,[14] it was said that emphasis would be on:

> possibilities for decentralization, direct participation of workers and citizens in determining the conditions oflife and work, and on the use of technology for human ends, rather than the subjection of man to the demands of technology.

In the emergent movements in the USA there seemed to be a fair degree of consensus, with regard to themes. In Britain, where there was a longer,and more substantial socialist tradition, a less cohesive movement developed, with conflicts between the different groupings on the Left punctuating the 1950s and 1960s.[15]

An important paradox within the NL was that it contained both a socialist critique of capitalism and a liberal critique of socialism. The major theoretical attempt to transcend the convergence of capitalist and collectivist materialism and bureaucracy was the revival of Marxian alienation concepts. Both Marcuse and Fromm[16] stressed elements of socialist humanism and individualism, and idealist, cultural orientations opposed to determinist materialisms. They emphasised the importance of 'freedom'. The anti-capitalist and anti-bureaucratic elements of the theory, rather than anti-industrialism per se, were developed. Both theorists seemed to have made an impact on the development of the NL. Several of the movements were marked by an ethos of anti-bureaucracy.

Decentralization and popular control were called for by the different movements, sometimes for different reasons. The black and urban poor movements raised demands for 'community' control over police, schools and other neighbourhood institutions as part of the civil rights campaigns which demanded the same civil liberties for all Americans. The students were calling for a popular democracy which they defined as the ability of people (not workers) to control there own lives, not only through exercising individual liberties, but also through the collective appropriation of the state institutions. The student radicals were struggling for a new society that made good on the promise of the American ideal of freedom by decentralizing decisions over all aspects of public life. Student radicalism became defined by its call for the creation of a public sphere in which representative institutions were transformed into organs of popular power through direct democratic forms.

Another anti-bureaucratic thrust came from feminism in the late 1960s. It offered a critique of the dominating practices within the institutions of daily life and within the contemporary social movements. Freeman[17] describes the origins of the new wave of feminists as coming via social action projects of,for example, civil rights groups and student groups. Soon the women who were participants in these groups, found themselves 'quickly shunted into traditional roles'. These unavoidably conflicted with the ideals of 'participatory democracy', 'freedom' and 'justice' for which they were supposedly fighting. They were faced with the self-evident contradiction. As a wide range of feminist organisations emerged, the originators made a conscious attempt to achieve a congruence between theory and practice. Their concepts of participatory democracy, equality, liberty and community, emphasised that everyone should participate in decisions that affected their lives, and that everyone's contribution was equally valid. These values led easily to the idea amongst some that all hierarchy was bad.[18]

Others who contributed importantly to the anti-bureaucratic climate at that time are those, who Aronowitz[19] groups together, as 'cultural radicals'. Some of the people within this grouping formed themselves into 'utopian communities' where they tried to make living and working arrangements that constituted an alternative to mainstream bourgeois everyday life. They organised collective farms or communal businesses which produced chiefly for subsistence. While this tendency in the counter-culture never became a widespread movement, Aronowitz believes that it exerted considerable moral influence. A much more typical phenomenon amongst cultural radicals was the organizing of political collectives which, for example, might entail the publication of alternative newspapers, or the working with community groups. Their countercultural life included trying to fashion a new way of living based upon a set of moral and political principles grounded in an alternative sexuality, new forms of family life, or ethical precepts governing personal relations. They attempted to base the commune on non-hierarchical relationships which would provide a model for a utopian future. Rogers'[20] Fromm and other humanistic psychologists strongly influenced some of these groups, and other'personal growth', self-help groups.[21]

Disillusionment with the major Liberal and Marxist ideologies, led to the 'end-of-ideology' thesis, which preferred 'the moral critique, the personal commitment'.[22] This thesis for many soon became ridiculous, as they realised that it was 'itself an ideology'.[23] In the NL's search for an ideology there was a rejection of the Stalinist subordination of means to ends, and there was a resurgence of a libertarian pluralism. The NL's version of pluralism sought representation of all social groups regardless of social class, or power. These libertarian radicals of the 1960s largely accepted an end to doctrinaire solutions and closed utopias, endorsing the sort of pluralism and flexibility that had been characteristic of much Anarchist thought. They had a naive concern for the struggles of 'the people' and 'the community', rather than that of a particular class.

Related to the above observations, was the NL's suspicion of theory divorced from action. Hayden argued that the movement should 'depend more on feel than theory', insisting that 'action produces its own evidence which theory alone can never do'.[24] Detached analysis was regarded with scepticism, preferring participation and experiential recollection; trusting the spontaneous and expressive as against the calculated and measured. Such sceptism was linked to a pragmatic emphasis on 'praxis', on proof through action. Saul Alinsky's approach[25] to community organising has been given by several writers[26] as epitomising the pragmatic, anti-theoretical tendency. For him the truth of any ideology could be judged according to its usefulness for a movement's practical political objectives of increasing popular power, rather than for any intrinsic 'truth'.

The anti-intellectual orientation was carried forward into the 1970s by, amongst others, the feminist movement where many of the initial organisers were reacting to the 'abstract rhetoric' they had experienced in some of the political groups. Some feminists, and other local organizers and intellectuals, had been strongly influenced by the Chinese Cultural Revolution. The principle of 'criticism and self-criticism' guided the work of many small collectives, and influenced the formation of some of the small consciousness-raising groups in the feminist movement. The small group was intended to provide women with a secure way to 'speak bitterness' about their lives. Speaking of bitterness was a fundamental means of raising consciousness about the relation of male supremacy to the everyday lives of women. Other sources of inspiration for the use of personal experience as the format for the consciousness-raising groups included the revival-like mass meetings of the civil rights movement.[27] In thousands of groups, in articles and fiction, women recovered their own voice through ritual of speaking bitterness, making their feelings a social fact, a shared experience. Rage became a mechanism of political mobilization for various aspects of women's rights, and its expression served to create the conditions for women's solidarity. According to Aronowitz'[28] Maoism, as assimilated to fit American circumstances, was the pre-eminent discourse, that permitted the critique of everyday life to become a form of both feminist and race politics in America. This claim, however, may simplify the various ideological influences too much. As has already been seen, there were many strands which focused on the need for oppressed groups to discover their own voice, rather than the need for them to engage in rational theoretical discourse.

The final concept which will be highlighted here, is the internationalism of the NL. There was an identification of the NL with the pain and dissatisfaction of powerless groups and outcasts everywhere – inside and outside the American empire. The appeal of the Third World countries also lay partly in the communitarian and egalitarian aspects of their social forms. Particularly in Britain, the various non-aligned developments of socialisms, for example, Yugoslav worker self-management, Gandhian nonviolence, or communitarian village socialisms, were some of the disparate elements fused in the NL's eclectic vision of 'community'. In the USA later in the 1960s, there was a widening search for a non-bourgeois, non-bureaucratic and unrepressive version of socialism in the Third World.[29] There was an ideal of a trans-national movement that would end colonialism, militarism, poverty, racism and the hegemony of American and Russian imperialists, and their threat of nuclear war. A growing trans-nationalism was expressed in links of movements and kinds and categories of people across national boundaries i.e. amongst youth, peace, anti-nuclear, anti-Vietnam, and women's movements. The trans-nationalism also raised fundamental issues about the meaning of development and underdevelopment. The 'development debates' will be described later in Chapter Six.

The dominant NL themes of the mid-1960s were those which linked decentralisation and community decision-making in a 'participatory democracy'. Such sentiments, linked to a plurality of emerging power relationships; black people, young people, students, minority groups and women, were rooted in assumptions that 'in a good society people participate fully in the decisions which govern their destinies and thus can create basic change in their day-to-day lives'.[30] The stress on democratic decentralisation and involvement, the suspicion of established leadership and inherited institutions, was closer to an Anarchist than a Marxist tradition.

In the early 1970s the NL was pronounced dead even by its own supporters. The reasons for its demise are analysed in detail by Young and cannot be described here. The black power, anti-war, and student movements were all receding. On the other hand there were projects with a strong relationship to the NL which continued and even flourished. One undoubted and lasting result of the NL, which is described in detail by Boyte'[31] was that direct action had become 'normal' by the 1970s. Grassroots citizen action groups and the Women's Liberation Movement, are two of the clearest examples of the continuity of some of the ideas within the NL into the 1970s. In the next chapter the voluntary associations of the 1970s will be described in some detail. First however the contribution made by the USA and British Governments to the growth of community organisations in the 1960s and 1970s will be briefly sketched.

Governments

The USA and British Governments' contribution to the development and growth of voluntary associations during the 1960s, came through their government funded anti-poverty programmes which were themselves outcomes of community struggles against racism and other forms of oppression. The USA government's most extensive involvement was through the federally funded 'War on Poverty' programmes. These included the improvement of existing resources and the creation of new ones in areas like education, recreation, vocational and rehabilitative services. By the 1960s two-thirds of the population of the USA was living in the urban centres. The impoverished were massed in greater and greater numbers in inner cities. The various Civil

Rights and other movements were demanding 'a better deal'. It was no longer possible to ignore their plight.

In many of the anti-poverty projects there was some attempt to include participants in policy making. 'Maximum feasible participation' of the poor in the development of the social services became official public policy with the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The Community Action Programs which were established under the Act were described as follows:[32]

> Above all [the CAP] includes the poor people of the community whose first opportunity must be the opportunity to help themselves.... The local agency applying for a community action program grant must satisfy only one basic criterion: it must be broadly representative of the interests of the community .... above all it must provide a means whereby the residents of the program areas will have a voice in planning and a role in action. The initiation for community programs must be distilled from the community itself; there can be no substitute.

The Government was actively encouraging the formation of voluntary associations by providing funding. Some of the premises which operated within the anti-poverty programmes included the belief that therapeutic programmes, intended to facilitate adjustment to environmentalconditions, must be offered in a manner congenial to the target population. In order to accomplish thisend, programme participants must be involved in determining policy. Another reason for local participation, Grosser[33] believed, was the assumption that unless social conditions change in response to community needs and wishes, the new projects might result in new problems rather than the resolution of old ones. Involvement of residents was also a way of investing projects with a degree of permanence, in the hope that they would continue once the sponsoring agencies had left. The clients of anti- poverty agencies also demanded a say through the Civil Rights Movement which was pressurising for voting rights and the desegregation of employment and education. The Government agencies therefore needed to encourage participation in order to contain some of their more vociferous clients.[34]

In Britain after the second world war a major influence on the voluntary sector was the consolidation of the Welfare State. In the report of the Wolfenden Committee[35] which was set up to look at the future of voluntary organisations, the significant developments which they observed from the late 1950s in voluntary action, included: the reorientation of some service organisations to differentiate their contribution from that of the statutory agencies; the rapid growth of pressure-group organisations, seeking to change Government policy, (one of the early and influential ones was the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament established in 1958); the flowering of mutual-aid groups in fields from preschool play to the drug addict and the single parent family; the growth of coordinating bodies at local and national level; and the increasing encouragement of voluntary organisations by local and central Government.

One of the important developments in the 1960s was the British Government's encouragement of what they called community development. It was an attempt to achieve change through consensus. 'Participation', 'non-directiveness', 'the usual channels', 'negotiation' and'compromise' were among the most important words in the vocabulary. Where possible confrontation wasto be avoided. Based on these ideas the government initiated twelve Community Development Projects (CDPs) in 1969 on an experimental basis. According to the Home Office[36] the projects represented:

> a modest attempt at action research into the better understanding and more comprehensive tackling of social needs, especially on local communities within the older urban areas, through close coordination of central and local official and unofficial effort, informed and stimulated by citizen initiative and involvement.

The first task in CDP areas was for the workers to encourage residents to organise themselves into neighbourhood groups which could negotiate with the local authorities around focal issues for the community such as housing, clearance and redevelopment. However as Johnson[37] explains, it did not take long for some of the workers in the CDPs to become disillusioned. The opportunities for radical change that the CDPs had at first appeared to offer, did not materialize. In reappraisals of their work, community workers argued that the 'dialogue model of change' which they were using, embodied an inadequate analysis of the distribution of power within the class structure. Some community workers began exploring the possibilities for linking their work with the wider labour movement, and other forms of class struggle. There was a move away from community development and the consensus model, to community action and a conflict model of social change.[38] One of the unplanned outcomes of the CDPs was a large volume of literature in which community development and community action have been extensively analysed and critiqued.[39] This literature has had an important impact on the theory and practice within various voluntary associations, and in Schools of Social Work at the universities.

Churches

Another social institution which made an important contribution to the development of voluntary organisation with its concomitant promotion of citizen participation in the 1960s, was the church. The churches like all other institutions, felt the impact of urban migration and industrialization. In the postwar years, great numbers of urban churches experienced an exodus of their predominantly white, middle-class congregations, and an influx into their parishes of working class, predominantly black, Asian or Hispanic people. The churches were forced to reappraise their role.

The organised Roman Catholic Church in the USA both felt the impact of urbanization, and was strongly moved by the recommendations of the Second Vatican Council convened by Pope John XXIII, regarding social problems. In Catholic as well as in Protestant church efforts, some priests and nuns became involved in issues such as housing, racism and legislation on social welfare and civil rights. There was also an explicit focus on the development of organisations amongst the poor, and the importance of community development as a method.

Through various programmes the churches have tried to engage the populations of urban inner-city neighbourhoods in communal self-help efforts. The churches' large physical facilities and real estate became valuable assets in this new view of Christian charity. Their approach to community organisation also provided them with a mission under whose aegis they could engage in the broad social movements sweeping the country in the 1960s. In these ways institutional interests and moral-ethical interests became identical, enabling a relatively small minority within the church to engage in social issues which the majority of parishioners were not ready to concede. The churches supported the participation of the people involved in community programmes on moral-ethical grounds. The literature of the church reflected its regard for the integrity and independence of participants in community work and advocated that the church 'serve as enabler for the community of the disinherited, helping people to become in Truth men who fashion those structures of their public life'.[40]

The churches in the USA worked at both the local and the national levels to promote community organization. Interdenominational bodies such as the

Interreligious Foundation for Community Organisation were founded. IFCO was 'the joint creation of nine major Catholic, Jewish and Protestant church agencies and a non-church agency. The Foundation was formed to help poor communities throughout the USA to mobilize their energies and employ traditional and self-determined strategies for solving urban-rural problems.' It is important to emphasise that the churches position with regard to community organisation was not by any means unanimous. The forces which moved the church in this direction comprised a minority of the religious community who were assisted by the climate of social change within the USA.

The 1960s was a time in which a wide range of institutions in the western capitalist countries emphasised the need for the people to participate in determining the future. It was a decade of triumphalism amongst extra-parliamentary groups which held out great, and naive hope for 'the power of the people'. The dominant ideology of the NL was a radical humanism, which emphasised both individual liberties and the need for greater equality. By the end of the decade however the NL was in disarray, disillusioned and divided. Many people were politically frustrated by the refusal of the Johnson administration to end the Vietnam war despite the mass demonstrations by millions throughout the country and the profound military defeat suffered by American forces in Southeast Asia. According to Aronowitz[41] sizable numbers of NL activists turned to Marxism-Leninism as the only possible doctrine capable of delivering America from the morass of racism and war.

IN SUMMARY

This overview of developments, particularly in the USA, provides a backdrop to a more detailed discussion of particular types of present day voluntary associations. In the discussion a wide range of statutory and non-statutory organisations were seen to have encouraged the development of voluntary associations for divergent reasons. Some were interested in promoting social change through consensus seeking strategies which promoted adjustment to the social conditions. Others were interested in promoting the mobilization of masses of people in order to oppose the existing social arrangements. They accepted the conflict model of social change. The encouragement of participation in voluntary associations therefore can be seen to support both adjustment and mobilization goals.[42] Different theories of democracy underpin the different perspectives. It is necessary therefore, before moving onto a more detailed view of organisational characteristics, to discuss the different democratic theories. This will help to clarify some of the theoretical assumptions within voluntary associations.

CHAPTER THREE

DEMOCRATIC THEORIES

'Democracy' is a key concern of both voluntary associations and community adult education. This point will be elaborated in detail in the following chapters. This chapter, which will provide a synopsis of important democratic theories, therefore forms an important backdrop to both the theoretical and empirical data which is still to be presented in Parts Three, Four and Five.

The defining of democracy is a difficult task if we consider the diverse writings on the subject from Plato, through Hobbes and Locke, Kant and Rousseau to Marx and Lenin. In his book *Keywords*, Raymond Williams, with an eye to the importance of the generation of meanings for the existence of any ideology, takes about four and a half pages to attempt some sort of location. What emerges is a word with multiple meanings and an astonishing historical variability ranging from 'obeying no master but the law' to 'popular power'; from the various combinations of 'formal democracy' and 'representative democracy' to 'real', 'direct' or 'people's democracy'.[43] As Mercer[44] points out, the fact that there is no clear definition is not just a question of words or semantics but also one of history – a history also of the creation of meanings. Plant[45] describes 'democracy' as a word which has both descriptive and evaluative meaning. Regardless of its descriptive content, most often it refers to 'good practice'.

In varying contexts the word democracy has had decisively different meanings and political implications. What is more important is that since the emergence of the various bourgeois representative states, the word democracy has been articulated with a great number of other words and meanings; the juridical subject, the free ethical individual, the 'neutral' sexual subject and so on. Above all, it seems that democracy must be considered more than a 'formal' device imposed from above by the dominant class; it is an ideological concept around which there is ongoing ideological struggle. As Therborn[46] states, ideologies are ongoing social processes which 'unceasingly constitute and reconstitute who we are':

> Ideologies differ, compete, and clash not only in what they say about the world we inhabit, but also in telling us who we are, in the kind of subject they interpellate. And these different interpellations of what exists are usually connected with different interpellations of what is right and what is possible for each subject.

There is ongoing ideological struggle in the maintenance and challenge of bourgeois hegemony. 'The struggle for democracy' is part of this ideological struggle.

An example of the contested nature of the concept of democracy is given by Mercer[47] when he describes how before about 1850 in England, the word democracy was more or less synonymous with 'blood on the streets' or the 'rule of the mob', as the spokesman of the ruling class looked nervously back at the French Revolution. Within the remarkably short space of about ten years it had changed its meaning, being incorporated, with the spread of the democratic franchise, educational reforms etc., within the discourse of the ascendant liberal state, which now saw the need to become a liberal 'democratic state'. As a word and as a concept it of course predated the liberal state and will go beyond it, but it is important to register that precisely because meanings are neither free-floating, nor fixed, democracy is part of the hegemonic discourse ofthe different statesthroughaprocess ofnegotiation and articulation. The new meaning of democracy in the nineteenth-century British state was not just an act of will on the part of the bourgeoisie but was forced on them by the presence of an increasingly organised proletariat.

Pateman,[48] in her work 'Democratic Theory and Participation', provides a useful summary of the contemporary liberal democratic theories which are preeminent in the western capitalist countries. She also argues strongly for a participatory democratic theory. Her discussion of the contemporary theory of democracy includes the works of Schumpeter, Berelson, Dahl, Sartori and Eckstein.[49] For these theorists democracy refers to a political method or set of institutional arrangements at national level. The characteristic democratic element in the method is the competition of leaders for votes. Elections are crucial for it is primarily through elections that the majority can exercise control over their leaders. Responsiveness of leaders to non-elite demands, or 'control' over leaders, is ensured primarily through sanctions of loss of office at elections. 'Political equality' in the theory refers to universal suffrage and the existence of equality of opportunity of access to channels of influence over leaders. Participation as far as the majority of people is concerned, is participation in the choice of decision-makers. The function of participation in the theory is solely a protective one; the protection of the individual from arbitrary decisions by elected leaders and the protection of her/his private interests. It is in the achievement of this aim that the justification for the democratic method lies. Certain conditions are seen to be necessary for the democratic system to remain stable.

While the contemporary theory of democracy has gained widespread support amongst present day political theorists in the western capitalist countries, there are numerous critics[50] who question its presentation as a value-free, 'neutral' theory which implies the kind of system we should value, and includes a set of standards or criteria by which a political system may be judged 'democratic'. These standards are those inherent in the existing Anglo-American democratic systems.

One of the 'classical' theories of democracy which Pateman explores at some length, and which has had a considerable impact on contemporary voluntary associations, is a participatory theory of democracy. Three major contributors to the theory are J. J. Rousseau, J. S. Mill and G. D. H. Cole. The theory of participatory democracy is built around the assertion that individuals and their institutions cannot be considered in isolation from one another. The existence of representative institutions at the national level, it is argued, is not sufficient to ensure that democracy is operative. Maximum participation by all the people is the goal, and in order to achieve this, social training for democracy must take place in several spheres. The necessary individual attitudes and psychological qualities can be developed through the process of participation itself. The major function of participation in the theory is therefore an educative one, which includes the gaining of practice in democratic skills and procedures. Thus there is no specific problem about the stability of the participatory system. It is self-sustaining through the educative impact of the participatory process. Participation, it is argued, develops and fosters the very qualities necessary for it. The more individuals participate the more able they become to do so. Subsidiary hypotheses about participation are that it has an integrative effect and that it aids the acceptance of collective decisions.

As Pateman says:[51]

> One might characterise the participatory model as one where maximum input (participation) is required and where output includes not just policies (decisions) but also the development of the social and political capacities of each individual, so that there is 'feedback' from output to input.

The theory of participatory democracy stands or falls on the hypothesis concerning the educational function of participation. Pateman provides substantial evidence to support her argument for the validity of a participatory democratic theory. Others like Pennock[52] question this evidence.

The remaining views on the meaning of democracy that will be considered here are those of certain contemporary Marxists who discuss the nature of democracy in capitalist countries and its implications for class struggle.[53]

Frequently the debates concerning the nature of democracy on the left have been presented as if there were two alternative ways of seizing and holding political power. One, usually identified with the Leninist tradition or Third International, would be the insurrectional, violent and illegal seizure of power by a disciplined minority which would unavoidably result in a dictatorship a dictatorship of the proletariat needed to hold that power. The other attributed to the Second International, would be the non-violent, peaceful, and legal means of seizure of power, i.e. the democratic road which would build on the gains won,not just by a minority,but by the majority of the population. There are numerous critiques[54] of this presentation posed within the framework of dictatorship versus democracy. The position of those Marxists who put forward a 'third way' applicable to advanced bourgeois democracies will be examined briefly.

The first point that needs to be made is that which was made earlier. Democracy is an historically negotiated concept which does not have any attachment to a particular form of government or any class definition. This is in contrast to Marx who believed that all democracy is class democracy and is assigned a necessary class-belonging. Recent works by Marxists have argued that his conception of democracy lacks a consistent theorization.[55] They accept Laclau's[56] argument that ideological elements taken in isolation have no necessary classconnotation, and that this connotation is only the result of the articulation of those elements in a concrete ideological discourse. The significance of this point for the discussion is that different forms of democracy, for example indirect representative forms, or direct forms, do not belong to the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. There is no pure 'bourgeois' democracy which can be posed as simply opposite to 'proletarian' democracy; the articulation of meanings of democracy, it is argued, is central to the development of a concept of transition in Marxist theory and practice.[57]

The theory of transition which is developed by these theorists draws heavily on Gramsci's theory of the state which will be explored in some detail in Part Three. For the moment, it will be sufficient to point out that the theory challenges the dichotomy between politics and economics: a dichotomy which is one of the main characteristics of capitalism and the main defence of the bourgeois order. The theory argues for democratization on all levels of society, both participatory and representative.[58] Those who support this theory, argue that revolutionary politics requires the broadening and deepening of the theory and the practice of both politics and democracy, not limiting democracy to the level of politics, but rather expanding it to include all areas of political, economic, social, ideological and cultural spheres.

It has been argued that the meaning of democracy is negotiated and contested, and cannot be extracted frpm its historical context. In the previous discussion on the history of voluntary organisations in the 1960s, examples of various social and ideological forces were described which affected the theory and practice within organisations in complex ways. Within the same social movement ideological struggle over the theory and the practice of democracy can be anticipated. The meanings of democracy are not only negotiated and contested at the state level, but are negotiated and contested at the inter- and intra-organisational level as well. The democratic assumptions underpinning the theories and the practices within organisations can also be expected to illuminate operative assumptions about social change made by the membership.

In the following chapter the characteristics of voluntary associations will be discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHARACTERISTICS OF CERTAIN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

The literature on voluntary associations is very diverse, and is drawn from the fields of political science, public administration, sociology, anthropology, and social work.[59] This presents a problem for this study which focuses on the educational processes within the organisations. Very few educationalists have studied the educational processes within community organisations in any comprehensive way. Each discipline has a particular slant: for example sociologists have traditionally focussed on the relationship between voluntary associations and social stratification; political scientists have shown concern with processes that preserve and enhance pluralist democracy, and this has led to an interest in the way voluntary associations mobilise people for democratic involvement and participation.

There have been few studies of voluntary organisations in their own right.[60] Perhaps there is good reason for this, because as we have seen, voluntary associations rise and fall in response to a range of social impulses. They seem to have more permeable boundaries than other organisations,in that they are more directly affected by their environment.[61] In studying the organisations, therefore, it is necessary to focus both on internal micro processes and external macro forces. There are few studies which are able to do full justice to both aspects simultaneously. In this discussion characteristics will be distilled from the literature which describe both internal and external factors which appear to influence the functioning of particularly self-help groups, community development agencies and collectives.

As mentioned in Part One, research strategies for the study of voluntary associations most frequently include surveys and case studies. The surveys done by Perlman[62] and Gittell[63] are most relevant for our purposes. The case studies particularly by Butcher, Rothschild-Whitt, and Lieberman and Borman are very useful.[64] Other case studies which are not directly pertinent, but which can illuminate the field, include the work on the welfare rights movement by Piven and Cloward, and West.[65] Also the case studies on various kinds of neighbourhood member organisations are interesting, particularly those of Susser, Baker, Alinsky, O'Malley and Twelvetrees.[66]

There are a number of recurring discussions in the literature which relate to the functioning of the organisations. They cover leadership, membership, internal democracy, strategies, goals, and accountability. An overview of the main points will be presented briefly.

MEMBERSHIP

Participation in voluntary associations has been the focus of several studies. There seems to be a degree of consensus that the majority of members are'middle class'. Liebermann and Bond[67] found that the majority of members of feminist consciousness-raising groups in the USA were predominantly 'white, liberal, educated, upper middle class women'. They found that in several types of self-help groups this segment of the population who 'place high value on growth and change', were well represented. In the study by Rothschild-Whitt of alternative collectivist organisations in the USA, she found that the members tended to come from well-educated, financially privileged families. In a survey of voluntary associations in Britain, the Wolfenden committee found that a higher percentage of middle rather than working class people belonged to voluntary association. Although the propensity to be involved in more informal, unorganised ways of providing services was found to be much more evenly distributed over different classes. Since the 1960s several researchers have noted an increase in working class involvement in local organisations. Perlman and Gittell both identified a growth of working class organisations out of the social movements of the 1960s. Lovett and Percival[68] noted an increase in working class involvement in community organisation in Northern Ireland after 1968 when political unrest began. There was also a growth in the number of ethnic organisations with the development of black consciousness in Britain and the USA It appears that at times of social upheaval and greater ethnic consciousness the number and the class composition of voluntary associations does change.

Gittell[69] believes that class differentiation cannot be underestimated as a significant influence on the character, goals and functions of voluntary organisations. Those with working class membership will lack access to the powerful and will lack material resources. One of their primary resources is their potential numerical strength. This is why Piven and Cloward[70] argue that institutionalization of a social movement is itself the cause of the decline in the effectiveness of working class movements. They believe that the very act of creating organisations, channels energy away from issues and political action, and toward organisational maintenance. (This is not unlike the argument which was used by governments in their acceptance of the idea of the need for more voluntary associations – the development of organisations will promote stability.) Gittell found that middle class organisations had more flexibility in their choice of strategies, and they showed significant differences in organisational characteristics. Perlman[71] notes an increase of organisations in the 1970s where there is an attempt to find issues which will unite low and moderate income people, and people of a different colour. However examples of the internal functioning of organisations which havea substantial number of their members from different social classes were difficult to find.

LEADERSHIP

The theory and practice regarding leadership within voluntary associations provides important insights into their functioning. Butcher[72] states that:

> Many community groups tend to reject traditional assumptions about the value of, or need for, leadership roles and positions. They question traditional beliefs that certain people are likely to be blessed with leadership characteristics while others are not. If any members become designated as leaders, it is assumed then, all should have equal and frequent opportunity to attain such positions.

However in his study of four groups there was continuity and constancy of leadership through different stages of the organisations' development; there was a tendency for those who already had leaderhsip positions in other organisations to become leaders in new bodies.

Voluntary organisations have historically been viewed as training grounds for the development of leadership skills.[73] In middle income communities, a leadership role in a voluntary association has been considered a valuable credential. In lower income communities, voluntary institutions are often the only institutions through which individuals can gain leadership experience. In Gittell's study four leadership patterns emerged:

1. Rotating leadership was generally associated with voluntary organisations where advocacy was used as a strategy. This occurred most frequently in middle income organisations.

2. Externally imposed leadership, for example by a funder or a statutory authority.

3. Staff leadership

4. Constant leadership where the organisation and the leader become one and the same.

She found that the most important characteristics of leaders in lower income organisations were that they were strong, highly visible, charismatic people who were able to dramatize issues to rally support of large numbers of people – the basic resource of lower income communities. However this type of leader was not generally interested in spending time developing a tightly administered organisation. Gittell and others have identified a basic contradiction in the needs of leadership between mobilizing people and developing leadership. Perlman[74] says:

> The problem is classic: a strong leader is often one of the key ingredients for a successful organisation; yet often the individuals with sufficient drive and ego to play that role well are incapable of sharing power or delegating responsibility to others.

AUTHORITY

The question of leadership relates directly to that of authority. Does the authority lie with the individuals, with the designated leader, with all the members of the organisation, or with some outside grouping (or doctrine) which could be the funders, the statutory authority, the political party or social class? Rothschild-Whitt [75] in her study of alternative collectivist organisations in the USA, found that the organisations rejected the rational-bureaucratic justifications for authority. Authority resided in the collectivity as a whole rather than with the individual who held authority through a designated position. This notion, she explains, stems from the ancient Anarchist ideal of 'no authority'. It is premised on the belief that social order can be achieved without recourse to authority relations. Thus it presupposes the capacity of individuals for self-disciplined, cooperative behaviour. Collectivist organisations routinely emphasise these aspects of human beings. Like Anarchists, their aim is not the transference of power from one official to another, but the abolition of the pyramid in toto: organisation without hierarchy. Liebermann and Borman also found this tendency in self-help groups of various kinds, where the sharing and rotation of leadership was common. They found[76] that the most frequently occurring activities in the groups are 'empathy, mutual affirmation, explanation, sharing, morale building, self-disclosure, positive reinforcement, personal goal setting and catharsis'. Activities which humanistic psychologists like Rogers[77] would applaud as central to the creation of a non-threatening therapeutic, learning environment.

Previously, mention was made of the Anarchistic tendencies within the social movements of the 1960s. Participatory democracy was popular particularly with students and in the women's movement. Oppenheimer[78] explains the basic approach as being similar to: small group sociology; Dewey's learning theory; psychiatric tradition, particularly Existentialist and Rogerian; political traditions of Anarchism and left socialism; Quaker and Gandhian tradition of non-violence which assumes that all members are worth hearing, hence consensus decision-making. This list of intellectual influences again illustrates the point made previously concerning the number of competing ideological strands which played a part in the formation of theory and practice in the organisations.

Lovett[79] takes issue with those who reject all authority as being 'at once a delusion and a demand for a kind of total freedom that can only lead ultimately to the law of the jungle, which would hardly benefit the oppressed'. The real question,he believes, is about the derivation of authority.

The debate in the literature about leadership in voluntary associations is captured in the debate around Michels' iron law of oligarchy[80]. Michels' theory was first published in 1911. He examined the trends in political parties and trade unions and came up with the 'law' that 'democracy leads to oligarchy, and necessarily contains an oligarchic nucleus'. By oligarchy in an organisation is meant control thereof by a few officials in the top hierarchy of that organisation. Michels argues that as organisations grow in size they become more complex and start requiring leaders with special expertise to run them. A division of labour becomes necessary and suitably qualified leaders have to take over the running of the organisation. As this happens the rank and file lose control of the organisation. Other factors which he believes reinforces the tendency towards oligarchy are that leaders, whether of proletarian or bourgeois origin, tenaciously cling to office once they have acquired it.

Michels' logic meshes nicely into Weber's notion of charismatic leadership and bureaucratic rationalisation, and his compelling vision has become the foundation for many organisational theorists. However there are numbers of theorists who challenge his deterministic theory, and do not see oligarchy as inevitable. Rothschild-Whitt argues that the value-rational, rather than the instrumentally-rational organisations point to different possibilities. Maree[81] in his study of trade unions points out that the historical context, different ideologies, and the capacities of the membership, all influence the oligarchic or democratic tendencies within organisations.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Another related concern within voluntary associations is the question of accountability. This is discussed in divergent ways depending on the democratic theory that informs the study. On one hand accountability in the voluntary sector is compared to that in the statutory social services.[82] Whereas elected officials theoretically are accountable to their electorate, voluntary associations are minimally accountable through, for example, their annual financial audit. They are unrepresentative bodies,therefore, it is argued,that any transfer of responsibility from statutory to voluntary agencies might mean a dimunition of democratic accountability and control.[83] There is acknowledgement though that the funder inevitably demands accountability, and in the case of the statutory authorities, funding is not normally forthcoming for 'unpopular causes'.

Some groups who subscribe to the theory of participatory democracy are most concerned with accountability to the members of the collective. Freeman[84] and Liebermann and Borman[85] in their studies showed that the implications of the strong internal accountability within the consciousness-raising groups led to the groups moving away from their initial political objective. They became isolated and were not accountable to the broader women's movement. In order to counter this tendency greater structure was introduced into many of the new groups. This included set topics for discussion, a facilitator for the first few sessions, and a time limit on the life of the group. Women were encouraged to move on to other activities within the movement afterwards.

A third perspective on accountability within voluntary associations, comes from Marxist critics. The works of Cowley[86] who describes the activities of the Camden Community Workshop, and Raboy,[87] who is concerned with the struggle for socialism in Montreal, provide useful examples of this approach. Cowley describes the leadership in the Workshop as being essentially non-authoritarian, although there is'no pretense at neutrality'. There is a deliberate effort to develop new forms of collective work, which means that the ways decisions are made, how activities are accomplished, and controlled is of crucial political significance. Both the need for political education of members and for the Workshop to ensure its place as a political collective, are seen as important safeguards against 'slipping into mindless activism'. Cowley acknowledges that the organisers are not collectively responsible to any constituency or public. Therefore the maintenance of internal accountability and self- criticism, which includes all aspect of the work, must be a regular feature. But he believes that it is only 'the placing of politics in command [which] can offset the lack of real accountability'. In addition, the consolidation of links with other groups both locally and nationally, particularly with trade unions, is of overriding importance. In the process, he sees the Workshop becoming more public, more open to criticism, more accountable for its political work. The actual visibility of the work therefore becomes important.

MOTIVATION

In the final part of this discussion, the motivation of members in joining voluntary associations, and the results of their participation in the organisations, will be discussed briefly.

The three major types of incentives which motivate people to belong to an organisation, and which were described by Clark and Wilson,[88] are:

1. primarily material i.e. money and goods
2. solidary i.e. prestige, respect, friendship
3. purposive i.e. value fulfilment

Freeman and Rothschild-Whitt both find that in social movements and collectives the major incentive is purposive, the solidary incentive is second, and material incentives are third most important. The organisations tend to generate a high level of moral commitment. In the collectives it is not part of acceptable vocabulary to talk about material gain,so public discussion of such motives are suppressed. The self-exploitation (meagre wages) common in collectives and the justification for it (e.g. autonomy, control, self-expression) are similar to the small entrepreneur. First and foremost, Rothschild-Whitt finds, people come to work in alternative organisations because it offers them substantial control over their work. Collective control means that members can structure both the product of their work and the process in congruence with their ideals. Hence work is purposive in contrast to alienating work. However a paradox emerges within those voluntary organisations who value the collectivist ideals. In order to successfully operate within these organisations members need to be innovative, and require entrepreneurial skills, which are dependent on a certain amount of independent, creative individualism. Strong survival skills may also be necessary in an often hostile environment. These attributes may at times conflict with the values implicit within collectivist democracy which require high degrees of either internal or external accountability, or both, from the members.

Perlman[89] points out that in community development agencies, money is a motivating factor, as well as power,prestige and the desire for change. She found that the directors and top staff are quite well paid, and there is often a degree of competition for the available jobs, which are viewed as channels for upward mobility. One of the problems is that the agencies depend on voluntary support in their programmes from people in their locality, who are poor. This can lead to the feeling that some are 'making good' off the hardship of the poor. However she believes there is no easy answer, as 'one cannot ask wellavetrained minority professionals to work for low salaries....'

In another recent paper Perlman[90] addresses the question of motivation amongst rank and file members of a community action organisation. She found a complexity of beliefs and behaviours which she related to Maslow's work on the hierarchy of needs.[91] Members expressed their motivations as being anger (a sense of injustice), loneliness (a quest for community), impotence/ignorance (a search for understanding, information and increased control), and lack of dignity/self-confidence (need to feel useful). Each of these forces was expressed to some degree by every person interviewed but the emphasis ranged widely. Perlman entitled her paper, 'Seven voices from one organisation', and it demonstrates graphically the competing and sometimes conflicting needs and assumptions amongst rank and file members.

The effect of participation within voluntary associations on the membership, and the need to develop ways to enhance the capabilities of members to participate more effectively, has been the subject of a wide range of writers. Gittell provides a very useful summary of the research findings on participation which show that people who do participate in an organisation are more likely to be active politically, to know more about what is going on, to feel more effective, and to be happier (the meaning of which is undefined).[92] Most of the literature suggests the importance of citizen participation in voluntary associations as a means for encouraging adoption of innovation and changes in self-image. It also confirms the research results in studies of voluntary organisations which suggest that crisis situations will encourage the growth of opposition organisations and increase their effectiveness. (This again emphasises the importance of the external context to the internal functioning of the organisations.)

EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES

The ways in which voluntary organisations do, or ought to,encourage the participation of members so that leadership qualities are developed, has been the focus of little systematic study. This is suprising as the development of leadership has been seen as one of the important functions of voluntary associations. This area will be elaborated fully later, as it is a central theme in this study. However, for the moment certain pointers which researchers have given, will be briefly discussed.

A central argument,which is based on the assumptions imbedded in the theory of participatory democracy i.e. that the solution to the problem of developing the capacity of participants lies in the democratic method itself, is put forward by several researchers.[93] Rothschild-Whitt argues that where people do not have participatory habits, it is because they generally have not been allowed any substantive control over important decisions. While acknowledging that her evidence is not yet conclusive, much of it, she believes, does indicate that the practice of democracy itself develops the capacity for democratic behaviour amongst its participants. Other social scientists like Argyris[94] remain unconvinced that participation can produce change in people's behaviour.

Amongst those who believe in the beneficial results of participation, there appears to be little discussion as to the form of participation which is required in order to achieve the necessary results. Perlman[95] following on from her discussion on motivation of members, believes that all four motivational needs would need to be addressed by the organisation. She states:[96]

> Dignity is gained, or regained, through many aspects of the citizen action process, but particularly through 1) actions which de-mystify the authorities, and provide the sweet taste of power, and 2) internal participatory democracy which gives every member a chance to be heard, a chance to make mistakes (and to learn from these without humiliation) and to disagree with others (and to resolve these differences without rancor).

She points out, however, that there is an inherent conflict between action and participatory democracy. (This we saw previously in discussions on the consciousness-raising groups). Since she has postulated that both are necessary in the organisation, a real paradox emerges. She quotes Oppenheimer:

> A paradox exists between the democratic content of a group and the progress of the group towards a measure of power in the community. Too much discussion we stop moving; too little and we are no longer what we were. To achieve a goal we need unity but to achieve unity it is sometimes necessary to compromise,to gloss over some important issues ... which shall it be?

In order to change the consciousness of the members and to attain their full participation in the organisation, Perlman postulates that there are three decisive factors: action, interpretation and internalization. By action, she means that if a group does not engage in some activity or confrontation that challenges the normal course of things, they generate no new data for re-interpretation. By reinterpretation she means two things. First, how much attention the organisational style gives to learning from both failures and victories,to open discussion and analysis before and after actions, and to ongoing leadership development. Second, how well the leaders are able to interpret and explain to the membership the connections between what they saw happen and why. Making the victory is only part of the challenge, giving it meaning is equally important. Finally, internalization is used to mean the process by which the lessons learned from action and interpretation are incorporated into daily operating assumptions and reinforced in people's homes or neighbourhoods among trusted friends and relatives. In summary her hypothesis is that a change in consciousness will occur in active groups which have indigenous leadership with some degree of ideological clarity, and a process of internal discussion within the organisation, and a high degree of solidarity and friendship with some members of the organisation.

An interesting observation that Perlman makes, is that as new insights have been gained regarding the issue of 'meaning' and consciousness, new approaches are evolving in some working class organisations which are 'value-based' rather than 'issue-based'. This is similar to developments in the more middle class political collectives which have been discussed. People feel concerned about the loss of traditional guidelines, culture, and values in their lives and are as able to talk about this as they are to complain about the garbage on the street. She points to some groups which are adapting Freire's methods of dialogue and consciousness raising to their own styles of organising. They work to reinforce ties of culture, trust, and community, within the groups rather than in the Alinsky mode which focuses on 'the enemy' out there.

The postulates made by Perlman are integral to the characteristics of the 'empowering process', which is the focus of Kindervatter's[97] study. After reviewing the literature in the fields of self-management, education for justice, community organising and participatory approaches, she compiled a list of common characteristics which appeared to be central to the empowering process. She defined 'empowering' as: people gaining an understanding of and control over social, economic, and/or political forces in order to improve their standing in society. An 'empowering process' is the means to bring about such understanding and control. In her research she was concerned with the role of the outside facilitator in the empowering process.

The eight characteristics she presents as guidelines for the nonformal educational approach to empowering. They include:

1. Small group structure (emphasis on small group activity and autonomy).
2. Transfer of responsibility to participants from the facilitator.

3. Participant leadership in decision-making over all aspects of the organisation.
4. Outside agent as facilitator who supports the people in doing things themselves.
5. Democratic and non-hierarchical relationships and processes. Roles and responsibilities are shared.
6. Integration of reflection and action. Analysis moves to collaborative efforts to promote change e.g. problem-solving, planning, skills development, and confrontation skills.
7. Methods that encourage self-reliance e.g. peer learning, support networks.
8. Improvement of social, economic, and/or political standing results from the process.

From the above, it appears that both Kindervatter and Perlman see the process of organising within voluntary associations as a central factor in the development of the capacity of members to participate fully in the organisations. Involvement in the planning, execution and reflection on the activities are seen as important learning processes. In addition they argue that the climate needs to be supportive of members who are ignorant or who disagree. Confrontation plays a part in the learning process, as does the learning of organisational skills. Both Kindervatter and Perlman insist on the need for action and critical reflection which will include an analysis and an interpretation of the action. Perlman points to the importance of the leaders who are needed to help give meaning to the action. Kindervatter describes the facilitator as acting in a supportive rather than a leadership role. Perlman postulates that the action, if it is to raise the political consciousness of the participants, must challenge the 'normal course of things', otherwise there is no new data generated for reinterpretation. Kindervatter is less specific about the kind of action that is required for 'empowering' to occur.

A third educational strategy which has relevance for this discussion, is that which has become known as Learning by Participation (LBP). It has been developed in relation to work and community experience for scholars, and is elaborated in a recent study by the International Movements Towards Educational Change.[98] They define LBP as

> an integrative process that includes participation in society, critical reflection on that participation, and the relation of experiences to theoretical knowledge, while

maximizing the participation of learners in decision-making affecting both the programme as a whole and their individual activities in the programme.

While LBP has been conceptualised as a method of learning for scholars in community and work experience programmes, where theory and practice are linked, it has much in common with the educational strategies which are described by Perlman and Kindervatter. LBP consists of participation in action, critical reflection on that action, and the relating of the practical experience and reflections on that experience to theoretical knowledge. It also insists on the participation of the people involved in the planning, execution and the evaluation of the programmes. All four components are similar to those described by Perlman and Kindervatter. The major difference between the LBP, as described by IMTEC and the proposed educational strategy of Perlman, is the definition of the action component. Perlman insists on political action which will challenge the status quo. Her goal is the raising of the political consciousness of participants. (She does not however elaborate on her meaning of 'political consciousness'). IMTEC is not concerned particularly with political consciousness raising, but with students being afforded the opportunity to exercise 'real responsibility'.

From the above discussions on the educational strategies of Perlman, Kindervatter and LBP, four components which are part of an integrative organisational process, have been identified. They are: action, critical reflection, theoretical knowledge and participation in decision-making at all levels. All three educational theorists insist on participatory democratic organisational processes. Perlman whose explicit goal is the raising of political consciousness amongst participants, argues that the type of action that participants engage in is important; it should challenge the status quo. The form this should take Perlman however does not define. Kindervatter and LBP seem less concerned with challenging the political and economic status quo, as with the extension of responsibility to the participants for the running of the programmes. Kindervatter seems to see the extension of responsibility in the micro situation as the first step towards a greater say for participants in other institutions in the society.

IN CONCLUSION

The permeable boundaries which are characteristic of voluntary associations, emphasise the integrated nature of the organisations with their environments. In the study of voluntary associations, the importance of the ideological factors has been shown to be important; perhaps as important as the historical, political and economic factors. The contested and negotiated meaning of democracy within organisations has been suggested as a useful way of identifying the complex ideological nexus which exists within each organisation. It has also been suggested that by understanding the democratic assumptions of the members,their theory and practice may be more clearly understood, with their assumptions about social change becoming more explicit.

The discussion on educational strategies, which develop the leadership potential of all members within voluntary associations, revealed four integrative processes which theorists argued were essential: action, critical reflection, theoretical knowledge and participatory democracy. For the raising of political consciousness, Perlman argued it was necessary for members to be involved in political action.

NOTES to PART TWO

Chapter Two

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4. G. J. Murray 1969 VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS AND SOCIAL WELFARE Edinburgh: Oliver Boyd
5. C. W. Gordon and N. Babchuk 'A typology of voluntary associations' in W. A. Glaser and D. L. Sills ed. 1966 THE GOVERNMENT OF ASSOCIATIONS Totowa: NJ Bedminster Press
6. For example Clegg and Dunkerly *op. cit* Part One N. 4
7. For a detailed history of the social movements, see for example N. Young 1977 THE INFANTILE DISORDER? THE CRISIS AND DECLINE OF THE NEW LEFT London: RKP; for a discussion on the anti-Vietnam war movement see, H. Zinn 1980 A PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES London: Longmans; for a discussion of the Poor People's Movement see F. Piven and R. Cloward 1977 REGULATING THE POOR USA: Pantheon; and H. Boyte 1980 THE BACKYARD REVOLUTION: UNDERSTANDING THE NEW CITIZEN MOVEMENT USA: Temple University Press; for a discussion on black power and civil rights movements see H. Sitkoff 1981 THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK EQUALITY 1954-1980 USA: Mc Graw-Hill Ryerson Ltd.
8. It is reported in M. A. Lieberman and L. Borman 1979 SELF- HELP GROUPS FOR COPING WITH STRESS USA: Jossey-Bass publ., that common interest associations appear in the history of human society at times of rapid change.
9. P. Berger, B. Berger and H. Kellner 1973 THE HOMELESS MIND MODERNIZATION AND CONSCIOUSNESS USA Penguin Books, describes the effects of modernization on people; Zinn *op. cit* and Young *op. cit* describe the effects of the Cold War.
10. Young *op. cit*
11. Young uses this term to describe the various movements that were operative in the 1960s. He acknowledges that some of those people or movements, whom he labels as NL may dispute this categorisation.

12. The literature includes S. Aronowitz 'Remaking the American Left: Currents in American radicalism' in SOCIALIST REVIEW no. 67 Jan. 1983; plus, Zinn op. cit, Young op. cit, Boyte op. cit
13. quoted in Young p. 12
14. quoted in Young p. 21
15. For a detailed description of the British developments see Young chapter 8
16. See H. Marcuse 1964 ONE DIMENSIONAL MAN Beacon Press; and E. Fromm 1961 MARX'S CONCEPT OF MAN Ungar
17. J. Freeman 1975 THE POLITICS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION New York: D. Mc Kay; also see M. L. Carden 1971 THE NEW FEMINIST MOVEMENT New York: The Russell Sage Foundation
18. Lieberman and Borman *op. cit.* and Freeman *ibid.*, both describe the problems of 'structurelessness'.
19. Aronowitz *op. cit.*
20. For example, C. Rogers 1951 CLIENT-CENTRED THERAPY USA and 1970 ENCOUNTER GROUPS USA Penguin Press
21. Lieberman and Borman *op. cit.* explore the growth and development of these groups in depth
22. Young *op. cit.* p. 18
23. *Ibid.* p. 21
24. quoted in Young p. 39
25. This is described in S. Alinsky 1969 REVEILLE FOR RADICALS New York: Vintage Books
26. For example Aronowitz *op. cit.* and Grosser *op. cit.*
27. This is mentioned in S. Brownmiller 'Sisterhood is powerful' in S. Stumler ed. 1970 WOMEN'S LIBERATION: BLUEPRINT FOR THE FUTURE New York: Ace Books
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30. *Ibid.* p. 46
31. Boyte *op. cit.*
32. C. F. Grosser 1976 NEW DIRECTIONS IN COMMUNITY ORGANISATION; FROM ENABLING TO ADVOCACY New York: Praeger p. 4
33. *Ibid.* p. 31
34. This point is made by Johnson *op. cit.* chap. 5
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40. Grosser *op. cit.* p. 44.
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54. For example, Hunt *op. cit.*; S. Hall 'The battle for socialist ideas in the 1980s' SOCIALIST REGISTER 1982.; R. Miliband 'The future of socialism in England' in SOCIALIST REGISTER 1977; V. Navarro 'The nature of democracy in the core capitalist countries: the meanings and implications for class struggle' in THE INSURGENT SOCIOLOGIST 10:1 Summer 1980.

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57. E. Laclau 1977 POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY IN MARXIST THEORY; CAPITALISM, FASCISM AND POPULISM London: Verso Books p. 100

58. This point is made by Mercer *op. cit.* and Navarro *op. cit.*

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

59. For example Susser *op. cit.* from anthropology, Freeman *op. cit.* from public administration, Thomson and Armer *op. cit.* from sociology, and Grosser *op. cit.* from social work.

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93. For example P. Blumberg 1973 INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY: THE SOCIOLOGY OF PARTICIPATION New York: Schocken

94. C. Argyris 'Personality and organisation revisited' in ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCE QUARTERLY 18: 141-67

95. Perlman 1980 *op. cit.*

96. *Ibid.* p. 15

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PART III

COMMUNITY ADULT EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

The aim of Part Three is to identify conceptual tools to be used for the analysis of the self-education strategies within the case studies which will be presented in Part Five. There is no obvious body of literature which deals with self-education within community organsations. The literature which appears to offer some promise, and which will be reviewed here, covers the works on community adult education. A general discussion of the literature will be followed by a more specific focus on three social theorists who have been very influential within community adult education. They are Ivan Illich, Paulo Freire and Antonio Gramsci. Their works represent important ideological influences which made an impact on the theory and practice of voluntary associations during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

In Part Two, through the discussions on voluntary associations in general and education within voluntary associations in particular, possible analytical tools were identified. These were the four integrative processes which were argued to be essential in the process of leadership development: action, critical reflection, theoretical knowledge and participatory democratic practices. It was argued that an additional and crucial dimension of activities within voluntary associations was the influence of the external context. In the following discussions particular attention will be paid to the abovementioned aspects in order both to decide on their suitability as analytical tools for our purposes and to 'sharpen' them by giving the concepts more nuanced meanings.

There are definite limitations to the usefulness of the literature for this study which need to be stated briefly. The most obvious limitation is that none of the works address the field of study directly. Neither Illich, Freire nor Gramsci discuss education within community organisations. Illich is concerned with education in general, Freire's theory emerges out of work in 'cultural circles' and Gramsci's most explicit description of adult educational practices is based on developments in the Factory Councils. All three are, however, concerned with education for democratic participation but much of their writing remains at a very general level. Therefore, the aim of the review of their theoretical works is not to provide a comprehensive critique but to identify suitable abstract tools for probing and making sense of the empirical data. The final decision on the suitability of the tools to be used will be made after reflecting both on the theoretical discussion and the social reality conveyed by the emergent empirical data concerning self-education within community organisations.

CHAPTER FIVE

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE COMMUNITY EDUCATION LITERATURE

Within the literature Community Education has proved a very difficult concept to grasp and define with any certainty. One reason for this is that community education is a dimension of social practice, and it is often difficult to distinguish between educational and social processes.[1] Another related reason for the problem with definition is that community education takes many different forms and occurs in a variety of places. It includes informal, unplanned educational processes, nonformal activities, and formal programmes.[2] It can form part of, for example, religious, cultural, political, worker, university or welfare activities. Because of its diversity it has no one history; but we do know that educational activity which today may be labelled community education, has been occuring for centuries.[3]

Within the British literature there have been several attempts to develop frameworks for an analysis of community education. However, in my view, they all appear to have the same inherent weakness. Within their frameworks, they most often define strategies in relation to a political framework. I will argue that strategies on their own do not inherently belong to a particular political tendency, but can only be seen to 'belong' when analysed in terms of the specific political goals within a particular situation.

One of the frameworks that has been referred to on several occasions in the literature is that developed by Thomas and Harries-Jenkins.[4] They present a framework in an attempt to interpret the relationship between adult education and social change. They use the well-known dichotomy between the conflict and consensus theorists[5] and then place them on a'continuum of attitudes', which include the categories revolution, reform, maintenance and conservation. They make the point that the categories can be interpreted in different ways, for example, revolution can be both progressive or regressive, and it can be violent or passive.

If we accept Gramsci's theory of the integral state, which will be elaborated later, and which, very briefly, describes an ongoing struggle over consciousness between the bourgeoisie and the subordinate classes, the categories as presented above seem to present a very simplified view of reality. The concept of hegemony stands as a critique of these rather static categories. In addition the example given about the various interpretations of 'revolution', points to another problem. This is to do with language. Mercer[6] argues, when discussing the concept of democracy, that meanings of words are negotiated and contested and need to be understood historically. He makes the point that the words 'revolution' and 'reform' connote a certain set of meanings and possible actions to certain groupings, andnot to others. He argues that the use of these terms no longer serves a constructive purpose in political debate, particularly if the concept of the 'integral state' is accepted. The emergence of various social movements in the last twenty years illustrates the problem.At what point are the movements revolutionary, at what point reformist? Are the ecologists who are fighting to preserve aspects of the environment, conservative? It seems that these questions can only be answered in relation to political theory and practice. The use of these categories in isolation from an elaborated social theory is therefore not very useful.

The two other frameworks which will be discussed briefly, are those developed by Barr and Mc Connell.[7] In both frameworks there is an attempt to link various critiques of society and political frameworks with community education strategies. For example, the'community service' strategy is classified as conservative, and'participatory community activity'is seen as reformist. There are numerous examples which can be drawn on to demonstrate that strategies in themselves do not 'belong' to any particular political theory; the work of Gramsci, Freire and Illich[8] for example, shows the different and complex use of participatory strategies, based on different analyses, with different possible outcomes. Jackson[9] in the early 1970s, drawing on Gramscian theory, argued for rigorous theoretical educational programmes for workers in addition to experience-based approaches. Many adult educators, at the time influenced by the atheoretical and pragmatic approach which was prevalent, thought of rigorous theoretical programmes as being inherently authoritarian and repressive. Therefore Barr and Mc Connell's frameworks seem to present an inaccurate relationship of causality between social and political theory and educational strategy.

In the literature the relationship between adult education and social change is a central point of discussion. There is an interesting, observable shift in perspective amongst radical educators during the 1970s and early 1980s. Initially adult education, in tandem with community development, was seen as a potentially important contributor and promoter of social change. However, as we have already observed with the workers in the CDPs in Britain, by the end of the 1970s there were more consistent calls for adult education to be an integral and complementary part of broader political and social movements.

Lovett[10] presents an excellent example of this shift in emphasis. In the early 1970s, working in Liverpool which had been declared an Educational Priority Area (EPA) by the government, he was concerned with the question of the relevance of adult education for the working class. At one point[11] he remarks on the novelty of actually being able to respond to what people want rather than what employers and institutions expected. This was hardly a radical innovation, but working from an institutional base as an adult educator, it must have appeared to have great potential. Jackson,[12] however, working in similar circumstances, soon indicated disillusionment with the localised focus. He argued that working class education should start as a challenge to bourgeois hegemony. Education and research should emerge from 'an explicit position regarding active social relations'.

By 1978 Lovett, who was reflecting on experience in Northern Ireland[13] where political unrest had started in 1968, was far clearer about the need for community education to be 'an arm of community action'. He was looking to historical examples, like the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee[14] and the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia,[15] to illustrate the need for an educational movement to be part of a broader social and political movement. He argues that community action in Northern Ireland 'has the makings of a radical working class movement', however, if it was to realise its potential, it needed 'an educational arm'. At this stage in his work, using the university as his base, he seems optimistic about community education's role in promoting social change.

In his most recent work[16] Lovett discusses the development of theory and practice in community education and action over the last ten years. He discusses the influence of the three educators, Gramsci, Freire and Illich on his work. He concludes that for community education to contribute to radical social change, it should help to develop an independent working class culture, and this should be done from an independent educational base. The university had a limited role to play. He also concluded that committed educators required'a sense of social and political purpose; a view of the world as it is and as it could be; a dream of the future and an ability to link this to the educational process'. His work which initially was more strongly influenced by Illich and Freire, now draws heavily on Gramsci. He agrees with Jackson's[17] contention that education practice must be constantly interpreted in the light of theory. The test of success for community education will be in the answers to the questions, who controls? and in whose interests?

Within both radical community development and community education circles, the emphasis shifted during the 1970s from analyses and theories concerning the micro processes of the specific projects, to concern for macro social and political theory. There was a more sober acceptance of the subordinate role within movements for social change of education and community development. Community workers acknowledged the need to develop their programmes within a theoretical understanding of the state, and within a theory of transition. Gramsci, who was a political activist and social theorist, and who developed his educational theory because of these commitments, has become increasingly relevant to contemporary activists.[18]

From this very brief survey of the literature, it is clear that a central focus in the literature has been the debate about community education's role in social change. Several of the educators had been linked to CDPs or other government initiated projects, and were engaged in a public debate with one another. The community education literature, therefore, does not provide a comprehensive framework for our purposes, although it does raise crucial issues about the role and function of education within broader social change strategy.

The next two chapters will analyse the theory and educational practice of Illich, Freire and Gramsci. The aim is to identify conceptual elements/tools imbedded in their work which can be used to probe the empirical material in the present study. Their works will be located briefly within the contexts in which they were developed. This will be done because, as has been stated previously, educational practices cannot be viewed outside their historical, social and ideological contexts. As Gelpi[19] says:

> the educational problem is above all a political problem, and that educational strategies must start out from an analysis of social and political forces .

CHAPTER SIX

IVAN ILLICH AND PAULO FREIRE

Background:

The work of Illich and Freire needs to be seen as an integral part of developments in the 1960s. As has been described, the 1960s was a time when there was a struggle for increased control and self-determination by a wide range of movements and institutions in western capitalist countries. It was also a time of rapid social change in many Third World countries which were either in the throes of national liberation struggles, or had recently attained independence from the colonial powers.[20]

Both Illich and Freire can be classified as radical humanists. Their work was strongly influenced by the intellectual climate of the 1960s which was discussed in Chapter Two, and which comprised anti-bureaucratic, anti-theoretical, and pragmatic tendencies, which had pluralist, populist and anarchist rather than Marxist roots. They are also Christians who have strong links with the Catholic Church. Both of them could fairly comfortably fit into Ruddock's definition of radicalism. [21] Ruddock argues that radicalism has several distinguishing features, some of which are:

- radicalism has no doctrine; it has no founding father (as opposed to Marxism). It is largely atheoretical and has an action-orientated approach to problems.
- radicals are ready to move to action and they hope to achieve change by attacking particular things in society.
- radicals are suspicious of all forms of government (Anarchists have a certain place in the radical tradition).
- many Marxists are also radicals and vice versa.

- radicals often look to 'self-help' and are attracted by the 'small is beautiful' thesis.

The work of Illich and Freire addresses both the First and Third world situations. Freire developed his work initially in Brazil and Chile, and Illich in the U.S.A., Puerto Rico and Mexico. Their work therefore also needs to be viewed within the context of the 'development' debates.[22]

IVAN ILLICH

Illich's work is the least directly relevant of the three theorists, who are to be discussed. However, his work does have some pertinence as it reflects important patterns of thought and behaviour which were present in community organisations of the 1960s and 1970s. His work has strongly influenced liberal thought on education through to the 1980s.

In this section the focus will centre on a critical understanding of Illich's arguments for education for democratic participation. Note will be taken particularly of the position in his work of the four integrative processes identified in Part Two i.e. action, reflection, theoretical knowledge and participatory democracy. His two works, which have had the most impact on educational debate, *Deschooling Society* and *Celebration of Awareness*, will be used as the focus of discussion.

These two books are the result of his work in Puerto Rico, New York and Mexico during the 1950s and 1960s. His ideas he believes have applicability in both the First and Third Worlds,[23] and as we have noted, they were strongly influenced by the social movements in the U.S.A., and developments in the Third World.

An example of his writing can most graphically demonstrate the influence of the context on his work. The opening essay in Celebration of Awareness is a manifesto, 'a call to celebrate', which was jointly enunciated by, and reflecting the mood of a group of friends in 1967. It was a call:

> To celebrate our joint powers to provide all human beings with the food, clothing and shelter they need to delight in living.
> To discover with us, what we must do to use mankind's power to create the humanity, the dignity and the joyfulness of each one of us.
> To be responsibly aware of your true feelings and to gather us together in their expression.
> We can only live these changes: we cannot think our way to humanity....

He continues:

> But we must also recognize that our thrust toward self-realization is profoundly hampered by outmoded, industrial-age structures.... We can escape from these dehumanizing systems. The way ahead will be found by those who are unwilling to be constrained by the apparently all-determining forces and structures.... Our freedom and power are determined by our willingness to accept responsibility for the future....
>
> In the future we must end the use of coercive power and authority: the ability to demand action on the basis of one's hierarchical position.
>
> The call is to live the future. Let us join together joyfully to celebrate our awareness that we can make our life today the shape of tomorrow's future.

Within this quote a number of the central strands within Illich's work can be identifed. Firstly, he is arguing for 'another development'[24] where he defines the meaning of development as being the actual improvement in the quality of human lives rather than in terms of macro-economic and social growth. He is concerned with the humanising of society. Secondly, he believes that social change can be brought about through the development of self-awareness amongst growing numbers of people who are committed to an ecologically sound, caring, sharing community. He argues that large bureaucratic institutions, like the education system, are major constraining factors in the growth and personal development of people. He thus challenges the existence of these institutions.

Illich contributed to the ethos of some of the value-rational voluntary associations which were discussed in Part Two. Authorityhe places with individuals, or counter-culture collectives who can begin to live the future in utopian communities. Feelings are valued more highly than theoretical analysis. Self-awareness is a key to a more equal, less oppressive society.

While Illich addressed himself to a wide range of issues, he was centrally involved in the education debates of the time. Whereas many educators[25] were concerned with 'relevance', 'the open classroom', 'access for the poor' etc. Illich argued to deschool society. Illich based his theory on two major criticisms of schools: firstly, that they deny to majorities socially powerful knowledge, particularly knowledge of political economy, and secondly that they cripple individuality, spontaneity, creativity, and collective action.[26] He was concerned to progress towards 'true' education which involves the conscious choice by an individual or group to learn something, to 'school' oneself. As such it is a self-determining activity. He said:[27]

> I believe that only actual participation constitutes socially valuable learning, a participation by the learner in every stage of the learning process, including not only a free choice of what is to be learned and how it is to be learned, but also a

> free determination by each learner of his own reason for living and learning – the part that his knowledge is to play in his life.

Based on this position, in Illich's view a good system of education must fulfil at least three purposes. Those individuals or groups who desire to learn must have access to adequate resources at any time during their lives, not just during the years usually set aside for formal schooling. Thus, technology must play a crucial part in the process of deschooled education. Quality education must also challenge the ideas of institutional certification by providing access for those people who want to share their wisdom with others who might want to learn from them. Finally, a system of education that proposes to be excellent must furnish an opportunity and the means for individuals to make public any issues or challenges they wish to make before the body politic.[28]

In order to fulfil these three purposes Illich proposes networks ofindividuals or groups that 'facilitate client initiated communication or cooperation'. These networks of educational resources are ideal types that are more visionary than made to fit existing social arrangements. They include the following:[29]

1. Reference Services to Educational Objects – which facilitate access to things or processes used for formal learning. Some of these things can be reserved for this purpose, stored in libraries, rental agencies, laboratories, and showrooms like museums and theatres; others can be in daily use in factories, airports, or on farms, but made available to students as apprentices or on off hours.

2. Skill Exchanges – which permit persons to list their skills, the conditions under which they are willing to serve as models for others who want to learn these skills, and the addresses at which they can be reached.

3. Peer-Matching – a communications network which permits persons to describe the learning activity in which they wish to engage, in the hope of finding a partner for the enquiry.

4. References Services to Educators-at-large – who can be listed in a directory giving the addresses and self-descriptions of professionals, para-professionals, and freelancers, along with conditions of access to their services. Such educators could be chosen by polling or consulting their former clients.

Illich has little desire to make these proposals into recipes. He believes that once the vision is established, given his underlying faith in the nature of individuals as striving for 'self-realization', there will be a growing motivation to fulfil the possibilities inherent in the alternatives he proposes.

Education for democratic participation means for Illich the provision of equal access to educational facilities and resources regardless of educational background, social class, colour or creed. Certification, he argues, should not be the mechanism for grading, classifying and sorting people for different positions in the labour market. Illich in this approach makes some similar assumptions to the contemporary democratic theorists who were discussed in Chapter Three. Equal statutory rights are seen as a central consideration for the equalising of educational opportunity.

He does also argue, as noted above, for 'participation by the learner in every stage of the learning process'. He believes that the most valuable learning often takes place through experience rather than instruction. However, he does not discuss the involvement of learners in the decisions around, for example, the technology to be used in the learning process although he is concerned about the distribution of power in the learning relationships. Thus, he argues that anyone who is willing and able should be allowed to teach. Peer learning is emphasised. He sees the role of educator as having to take different forms. At times, particularly with the teaching of skills, rote learning may be approriate, while at other times 'the educational guide or master is concerned with helping matching partners to meet so that learning can take place.'[30]

Critical discussion

Many of the Marxist commentators, who are critical of Illich, criticise the lack of a coherent theory in his work. They are critical of the negative formulation of the problem, which never moves beyond negation, and they argue that he has a naive and simplistic view of social change. Some of their criticisms perhaps would hold good for other radicals as well.

Gintis[31] points out that the strengths of Illich's analysis lie in his consistent and pervasive methodology of negation. He demystifies many of essential elements in the liberal capitalistsocieties: consumption, education, the welfare state and corporate manipulation. But his failure is that he refuses to pass beyond negation. He never moves on to a synthesis. Only in one sphere does he go beyond negation, and that is with technology, which he sees as having some potentially liberating educational functions. Gintis argues that his failure to move beyond negation is an implicit affirmation of the deepest charateristics of the existing order. For example, by rejecting schools Illich embraces a commodity-fetishist cafeteria- smorgasbord ideal for education, and he affirms a utilitarian individualistic conception of humanity.

An acknowledgement of the political nature of knowledge is central to Illich's argument. Therefore making knowledge accessible is a political act. In schools, he argues, knowledge has become a commodity, and 'knowledge capitalism' has become an acceptable rationale for the distribution of jobs and income[32]. Knowledge he recognises as being both explicit and implicit, as with the hidden curriculum in the schools. Barrow[33] believes that Illich has 'a very hazy view of what he means by knowledge', and he has an over-simplified picture of the acquisition of knowledge. Barrow argues that rather than just access to 'facts', education should be most concerned with the development of people's capacity to handle ideas. Giroux[34] gives the essence of radical education as:

> its ability to help students move critically within their own subjectivity and to break with the 'commonsense' assumptions that tie them to the dominant structures of power and control....

Illich does not seem to appreciate the pervasiveness of bourgeois hegemony and the need for an active strategy for the raising of consciousness amongst the people. He does not question the value bias which may be present in his technological, alternative sources of knowledge. Having previously acknowledged the political nature of knowledge, his lack of discussion of the political values which will be present in his utopian systems, is contradictory. In these systems he seems to take knowledge and information as neutral.

Giroux[35] sees two major positions which characterise the 'educational left': on the one hand there are content-focussed radicals and, on the other, strategy-based radicals. The content- focussed radicals define radical pedagogy by their insistence on the use of Marxist-based, theoretical perspectives to demystify the dominant ideology. On the other hand, the strategy-based group defines radical pedagogy as the development of 'healthy', non-alienating social relationships. The latter position, into which Illich would fit more comfortably, springs from a long tradition of thought including such diverse notables as Rousseau, Carl Rogers, and Erich Fromm. (It is also the tradition on which arguments for the theory of participatory democracy are based.) Steeped in what can be generally termed radical humanism, this group acknowledges the oppressive power and control exercised by institutions such as schools. They therefore are inclined to stress humanistic social arrangements at the expense of radical content. Content-focussed radicals, who are concerned to present the 'correct' analysis, on the other hand, have divorced content from process. Giroux argues that what is needed in radical education is a definition of knowledge which recognizes it to be not only a body of conceptual thought, but also as a process which demands radical educational relationships. Both Gramsci and Freire have recognised this need to different degrees, but Illich is concerned mainly that people have free choice in what and how they learn.

Illich uses the term 'hidden curriculum' to categorize the unstated but effective distribution of norms, values, and attitudes to students in classrooms, but he never attempts an analysis of this phenomenon. The assumptions that he seems to make are that the hidden curriculum manipulates the students and detracts from their personal freedom and space for creativity. Ananalysis of the relationship between capitalist social relations and the hidden curriculum is missing. Therefore his solution i.e. to deschool society, is not based on a theory of the state or a theory of social change. It is based on a notion of human freedom which ignores the importance of economic, political and ideological factors in social change. While he is critical of capitalism, he does not connect his solution with his critique of society in any coherent way. His radical pedagogy ends up being ahistorical, individualistic, and with no dialectical notion of knowledge which can lead on to collective social action.

Illich's 'networking strategies', which do not take into account the conflictual nature of society but encourage a consensual view, became popular amongst certain adult educators and community organsiations during the 1970s and are still influential in the 1980s.[36]

In Summary

In light of the aim of this chapter, which was to identify possibleconceptual tools for the analysis of the case studies, brief comment is necessary on the place which the four integrative processes of action, reflection, theoretical knowledge and participatory democratic practices have within Illich's theory.

Illich does not refer to the micro educational processes. Therefore only general comment is possible. The 'action' component within his visionary educational process relates largely to the retrieval of information and learning incidentally through experience. The process is highly individualised and self-directed. The 'action' which would be required to bring about the new society seems to stress acts of negation rather than any constructive political action. He also encourages people to form utopian communities where the theory and practice can be enacted in the present time.

The development of 'theory' is not stressed by Illich. He highlights the need for 'facts' and 'skills' but he does not argue for *particular* 'facts' or 'skills'. He seems to imply that they are politically neutral concepts. It is the retrieval of the facts rather than the development of the capacity to work with ideas which is emphasised. 'Reflection' on action, as part of the learning process, is not mentioned specifically although he argues that people do learn from experience.

Finally, he does stress the importance of the participationof learners in all aspects of the learning process although, as argued above, it is not clear who makes certain decisions like the use of technology and the definition of knowledge. The details of the participatory democratic processes are not elaborated.

PAULO FREIRE

There is no doubt that Freire has been a highly significant figure in adult education over the last fifteen years. His work has had particular appeal for radical adult educators because of his emphasis on the political nature of education. However, the widespread expression of interest in his ideas raises questions. For example, why are people happy to accept Freire when they are opposed to Marxism in general? Is his approach in fact as radical as has been claimed?

In this section, the main thrust of Freire's theories with their underlying philosophical assumptions will be elaborated in order to identify Freire's views on education for democratic participation. Special attention will be given to the part played within his educational theory to the integrative processes of action, critical reflection, theoretical knowledge and participatory democracy. The democratic theories which are imbedded within his writings will be identified in order to relate the micro educational processes to his broader theories of social change. During the course of discussions, the questions that were raised above, will be addressed.

During the period of the reformist government of President Goulart in Brazil Freire participated in the debate about national development and he was associated with the radicals in the Catholic Church. As coordinator of the National Literacy Programme in 1963 he developed plans to include twenty thousand groups in the literacy programme. But in April of 1964 the military overthrew President Goulart. Freire was imprisoned for seventy-five days because his literacy programme was seen by the military as politically subversive. He then went into exile in Chile. Thus Freire was working and writing about a society that was in a state of transition. Freire acknowledges the importance of such a time, he says:[37]

> The time of transition involves a rapid movement in search of new themes and new tasks. In such a phase man needs more than ever to be integrated with his reality. If he lacks the capacity to perceive the 'mystery' of the changes, he will be a mere pawn at their mercy.
> Brazil, in the 1950s and early 1960s, was precisely in this position of moving from one epoch to another....

Freire saw the importance of this phase of history as crucial where, in Kuhn's sense, there were competing paradigms. He saw education as central at this time:[38]

> Thus, in that transitional phase, education became a highly important task. Its potential force would depend above all upon our capacity to participate in the dynamism of the transitional epoch.

He argued that Brazil had been a 'closed society' which was in the 'process of opening'. During this time the society began to polarise:

> Men and institutions began to divide into two general categories – reactionaries and progressives.... The deepening of the clash between old and new encouraged a tendency to choose one side or the other; and the emotional climate of the time encouraged the tendency to become radical about that choice.

Freire described Brazilians as having no experience of democracy. Brazil had a history of a 'closed, colonial, slavocratic, reflex, and anti-democratic society.'[39] He believed that the people had to learn democratic behaviour through the experience of it. He advocated their participation in a range of voluntary associations:

> I was convinced that the Brazilian people could learn social and political responsibility only by *experiencing* that responsibility, through intervention in the destiny of their children's schools, in the destinies of their trade unions and places of employment, through associations, clubs, and councils, and in the life of their neighbourhoods, churches and rural communities by actively participating in associations, clubs, and charitable societies.
>
> They could be helped to learn democracy through the *exercise* of democracy; for that knowledge, above all others, can only be assimilated experientially.... Nothing threatened the correct development of popular emergence more than an educational practice which failed to offer opportunities for the analysis and debate of problems, or for genuine participation; one which not only did not identify with the trend toward democratization but reinforced our lack of democratic experience.

It was the desire to contribute to the development of a truly participative society that was a strong motivation behind the development of Freire's work. He wanted to take advantage of the period of transition in order to democratize the education process:[40]

> I was concerned to take advantage of that climate to attempt to rid our education of its wordiness, its lack of faith in the student and his power to discuss, to work, to create. Democracy and democratic education are founded on faith in men, on the belief that they not only can but should discuss the problems of their country, of their continent, their world, their work, the problems of democracy itself.

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> Education is an act of love, and thus an act of courage. It cannot fear the analysis of reality or, under pain of revealing itself as a farce, avoid creative discussion.

Freire's ideas are accessible in English in five books and numerous articles. His first three books *Education for Critical Consciousness* (1967), *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *Cultural Action for Freedom* (1970) and half of the fifth book *The Politics of Education* (1985) relate to his experiences in Latin America in the 1960s. In 1978 he published *Pedagogy in Process* based on his experience in assisting with the national literacy programme in Guinea-Bissau in 1975-1976. This book provides evidence of a significant development in his thinking which is reflected in his mode of analysis and expression. Before moving on to the philosophical influences within his work it is necessary to describe briefly the adult education method which Freire has developed to put his theory into practice. His method is elaborated in detail in *Education for Critical Consciousness* and in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.*

One of the most important things about Freire is that he not only presents educational theory but also describes its practical implications. This is in line with one of his main ideas, namely that the practices of adult educaion reflect political and philosophical assumptions:[41] 'All educational practice implies a theoretical stance on the educator's part. This stance in turn implies ... an interpretaion of man and the world.'

Freire's method was centrally concerned with consciousness raising; that is the process whereby learners develop a critical understanding of their society and an awareness of how to change it. His approach can therefore not be reduced to techniques and methods, although he does stress certain educational forms and processes.

His method developed initially through the establishment of 'culture circles'. The method was, after six months, used in the teaching of literacy. Literacy he saw as an area of education which taught essential skills, and through the process, could teach participative behaviour. The 'culture circles' provided the structures in which a problem-posing approach to education could be undertaken. In the 'culture circles' instead of a teacher there was a coordinator, instead of pupils there were group participants, instead of lectures there was dialogue, instead of syllabi there were learning units based on specific, politically relevant problems. Through the culture circles they attempted through group debate either to clarify situations or to seek action arising from that clarification. The approach developed in the culture circles was applied to the literacy classes. Through teaching adults how to read they were attempting to move the learners from a naive to a critical attitude. They believed that:[42]

> The more accurately men grasp true causality, the more critical their understanding of reality will be. Their understanding will be magical to the degree that they fail to grasp causality. Further, critical consciousness always submits that causality to analysis: what is true today may not be so tomorrow. Naive consciousness sees causality as a static, established fact, and thus is deceived in its perception.

The assumption underlying their approach was that critical understanding leads to critical action. The method used to move people to a critical position was 'an active, dialogical, critical and criticism-stimulated method'. It was the process of 'conscientization'.

Freire's philosophical foundation for his educational practice is elaborated in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. It is a position which very much reflects the intellectual milieu of Brazil in the early 1960s. It is an explicitly eclectic position whichdraws on three closely related intellectual currents of the twentieth century – radical Christian theology, existentialism, phenomenology, and humanist Marxism.

Freire's view on Christianity is that it entails a commitment to social action against exploitation and oppression. As he put it in an interview[43] 'the role of the church must be the role of liberation, of the humanisation of humankind'. His use of concepts such as witness, rebirth, and the Easter experience derive from Christianity. His philosophical position also incorporates existential-phenomenological ideas. His stress on interpersonal relations and dialogue derive from this perspective, as does his concern with consciousness and the way people construe the world. As he says:[4] 'Reality is never just simply the objective datum, the concrete fact, but it is also man's perception of it.' His use of concepts such as inter- subjectivity, intentionality and authenticity derive via this philosophical route.[45] Finally, his position also includes the thinking of humanist Marxists, for example, in its emphasis on praxis and the need for a utopian vision to negate existing capitalist society. Concepts such as praxis, alienation and dialectics he derives from Marxism.

With this brief introduction to Freire the specific role of action, reflection, theoretical knowledge and participatory democracy will provide the foci for further critical discussion of his approach to education.

Critical discussion

At the centre of Freire's educational approach is a conception of man – man standing on his own feet as an active enquirer, rather than a passive receiver of the ideas of others. He believes that all people are capable of sustaining a critical relationship with their environments, and that through reflection and action they will be able to de-mystify oppressive knowledge. He believes that people are different from animals because they are able to detach themselves from their natural and social environment, and then act to change it. People are continually in a process of action and reflection. Thus the central concept of Freire's epistemology is praxis, that is, conscious action.[46]

The act of knowing involves a dialectical movement which goes from action to reflection and from reflection upon action to a new action. For the learner to know what he did not know before, he must engage in an authentic process of abstraction by means of which he can reflect on the action-object whole, or, more generally, on forms of orientation in the world.

For Freire, praxis unites thought and action and hence avoids the separation of these which leads either to empty theorising or to mindless activism. It leads him to conclude that education musthelp people in the process of objectifying the world, critically understanding it, and acting to change it. His approach is therefore an explicit attempt to embody the theory of knowledge based on praxis.[47] It centres on dialogue, a process in which the educator and learner search for knowledge together. This search, being based on praxis, presupposes not only intellectual work but also action.

Freire's conception of education is in direct contrast to the concept of education as an act of transmission and transference of knowledge. Freire criticises traditional narrative forms of education as oppressive and likens them to a system of 'banking'. He suggests that education which follows this mode[48]

> becomes an act of depositing in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communication the teacher issues communiques and 'makes deposits' which the students patiently receive, memorise and repeat. This is the 'banking' concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the student extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits....

His critique of banking education rests on the view that the teacher as 'narrator' encourages a one-way dependence of the student upon the teacher. The memorising and regurgitation of 'facts' creates, and maintains, a gulf between teacher and taught. Freire argues that such a process is anti-dialogical and therefore anti-educational on the grounds that 'dependency' presents a contradiction and an obstacle to 'authentic free thinking and real consciousness'.[49]

This 'banking education' regards knowledge as static and learners as passive. Freire's writings are a critique of this approach. His method derives from his epistemology and the idea of praxis. The whole process of problem-posing and decodification is based on this theory.

The concept of praxis, particularly in the earlier works, tends to be abstract and can thus be criticised from a Marxist perspective for the promotion of idealism which overemphasises human freedom to bring about social change. Content is not given to the 'theory and practice' beyond the curriculum needing to be based on actual needs and real problems relating to the context. The 'action' is also unspecified. However, in *Pedagogy in Process* Freire makes more explicit both the content of the practice and its determining context. For example, he acknowledges the role of the party in social transformation and the necessary relationship in Guinea-Bissau of education as part of the process of production.[50]

Before moving on to discuss Freire's approach to the use of theory, there is one critique of 'conscientization' which should be noted. The critique raises the question of the nihilist tendencies within the process of 'conscientization'.

In a paper by Bowers 'Culture against itself: nihilism as an element in recent educational thought',[51] he develops an argument which raises questions about the process of consciousness-raising, which sets out to question and demystify all aspects of an individual's existential and historical situation. He is critical of the promotion of 'discontinuity' which undermines 'traditional cultural defences against nihilism'. He argues that educational practice which promotes the critically reflexive person as the centre of a social change strategy, and which does not provide for the recognition and establishment of any form of authority outside of the reflective judgement of theindividual, will be unable to ensure that the individual will accept the moral authority of important social groups. This would be directly counter to a Marxist theory of class struggle.

Bowers states that the basic orientations of the neo-Romantic (for example Illich) and liberation theories of education that contribute to the nihilistic dissolution of the cultural foundations of belief are: an emphasis on self-realization, the locating of authority within the individual, a teleological view of change that makes tradition appear as an obstruction to progress that must be overcome, and a view of individualism that ignores the formative ground of culture. He suggests that a theory of education that reduces the nihilist tendencies must provide a theoretical basis for understanding the limitations of setting the individual against culture and tradition. There must be recognition that the individual is not an autonomous entity, but an intersubjective being (in the phenomenological sense), or an 'individual-communal being' in Marx's terms. He argues that instead of allowing the educational experience to turn inward towards subjectivity, on the assumption that 'speaking a true word' represents a progressive transformation of the world, the project of consciousness-raising can lead to a more thoughtful awareness of how the present pattern of thinking originated in the past. He gives the example of people understanding the foundations of a democratic polity which can strengthen commitment to communal values that are substantively different from the nihilistic value of self-interest.[52] Bowers' argument, although framed quite differently, is remarkably similar to the argument Gramsci uses for school education to be an initiation into the history of philosophical thought.[53] Bowers, however does not extend his theory to include political practice, as Gramsci does. He remains at the ideological level, where 'restoring the sense of community' is an educational rather than a political and economic act. His paper does however raise some very important questions for radical educators like Freire, and for community educators and activists who are attempting to develop collectivist models of organisation.

The lack of clear theoretical formulations in Freire's work is pointed out in different ways and from different perspectives. It is clearthat one of Freire's strengths is that he addresses educational issues as political ones. For him, the fact of domination in Third World nations, as well as the substantive nature of that domination, is relatively clear. Consequently, as Giroux[54] points out, his analysis of the socio-political conditions of domination are confined to both an acknowledgement and a strong rhetorical indictment. This presents two major problems. Firstly, he does not present his arguments within a defined theory of the state, nor does he seem to have a coherent theory of transition. This results in the relationship between his pedagogy and social action being left vague and unclear. As we have seen in Part One of the study, this can result in groups staying at the consciousness-raising stage, and never moving on to political action. Secondly, the conditions and nature of domination are not explored in any depth; the extent of ideological hegemony does not appear to be fully appreciated. Conscientization seems to refer to the process of overcoming a 'state of false consciousness' with only the 'oppressed' having a 'fragmented consciousness'. This is in contrast to the more detailed and analytical concept of 'commonsense', developed by Gramsci. Freire uses the two simple categories of 'oppressed' and 'oppressors' which, as Rude[55] points out, are very inadequate for describing the complexities of societies. Gramsci moves away from these categories and talks about 'commonsense' because he breaks down the gross dichotomy into more complex divisions. He talks more specifically about classes and class alliances.

Freire develops his theory of cultural domination and cultural action for freedom from his analysis of consciousness. He distinguishes three levels of consciousness: 'magic consciousness', 'naive consciousness' and 'critical consciousness'. He states that 'to understand the levels of consciousness, we must understand cultural-historical reality as a superstructure in relation to an infrastructure'.[56] However, as mentioned above, he stays at the level of generalities as he does not use the concepts of Marxist analysis to identify more precisely the context of different levels of consciousness. Freire thus focuses on the plane of consciousness to the neglect of the economic basis.

The position of the teacher or coordinator in Freire's method further illustrates his approach to theory. The task of the teacher is to challenge the learners to move to a level of critical consciousness. The problem-posing method, which is based on dialogue and which must avoid manipulation, is used to achieve this. But what is the basis for the teacher's challenge? The basis must be a theory concerning society where the ruling class ideology obscures reality and the teacher's role is to reveal this ideology. But it is over the question of a 'correct theory' where Freire is most ambivalent. A tension is discernible between his humanist opposition to imposition and historical materialism. He is reluctant to acknowledge the superiority in terms of theoretical understanding of the teacher.

As he asserts: 'And critical perception cannot be imposed'.[57] In *Pedagogy in Process* Freire does acknowledge that popular wisdom can at times be incorrect and in these instances it must be corrected. He has in more recent statements argued that educators must share their theoretical knowledge with learners in a process that does not deny inequality of knowledge but one which is based on cooperative and democratic principles of power. As Youngman points out:[58]

> The opposite of being directive is not being non-directive – that is likewise an illusion. the opposite both of manipulation and spontaneity is critical and democratic participation by the learners....

Freire's ambivalence to the teacher having a superior theory reflects his eclecticism which prevents him from identifying Marxism, for example, as the theory which can most comprehensively expose the ideology of the ruling class and thus provide the basis for critical education.

Freire's position on 'action' is also unclear particularly in his earlier work. *Pedagogy in Process* develops his position although there are still criticisms of the ambiguities in his writings. Gleeson, Walker and Giroux[59] all comment on Freire's failure to elaborate on the relationship which he saw between the educational processes and revolutionary action. Gleeson lists a series of questions which he believes remain unanswered by Freire. For example, what does he mean by 'authentic', 'true' or 'real' consciousness? How can he be sure that conscientized revolutionaries will not become oppressors themselves? To what extent can radical, literate peasants, untrained in guerilla tactics and without organised military strategies, be capable of resisting government troops? In addition Gleeson believes that he does not seem to explore satisfactorily the relationship between the revolutionary leadership and the masses. Neither is the relationship between intellectuals and the masses developed with any thoroughness. Jim Walker,[60] in his critique of Freire's political theory, particularly as expressed in *Pedagogy in Process: The Letters to Guinea-Bissau*, usefully analyses these issues.

> For Freire, it seems that the same principles govern the roles of both the educator and the revolutionary leader. Apart from the military aspects of the revolutionary leadership, he sees the roles as being very similar. He regards the petty bourgeois nature of the leadership as almost inevitable. The leaders are typically professionals and intellectuals who renounce their class origins and join the oppressed. Freire builds up an elaborate theory of dialogue and communication to bridge the gap between leaders and people. This is the essence of their relationship.

It is only in his writings on Guinea-Bissau that he elaborates at any length on the role of the political party. Walker believes that he accepts as unproblematic the all-encompassing role of the party as developed by Cabral. He takes the Guinea-Bissau people to be homogeneous. He does not develop his analysis of the relationship between the leaders and the people beyond the importance of the dialogical relationship and the need for moral attentiveness and application to duty on the part of the leaders. While in his later work Freire does elaborate on his view of revolutionary action there is no systematic account of the conditions of revolution, the form of political organisation or the programme of action. A central and important weakness in Freire's work is the lack of a theory of social change and the lack of specification about the goal of social change. His work also lacks a clearly spelt out vision of his ideal, future society. These deficiencies cloud Freire's work. They leave the readers to make many assumptions in their search for his social theory and they leave room for misinterpretation and confusion. His eclecticism allows his work to be used by a wide range of people from very different philosophical perspectives.

Finally, we turn to the relationship of Freire's pedagogy to 'participatory democratic practices'. From the discussion thus far it is clear that Freire is centrally concerned with the development of democratic theory and practice.

Education occurs through active participation both in the structured learning situation and in political, social, cultural and economic activities. The relationship between coordinator and learner is based on 'dialogue'. There is an emphasis on the equality of all concerned. As already mentioned there in ambivalence in his writing about the role of leadership in the educational process. While his theory has been influenced by the Existential-Phenomenological, Marxist, radical Christian and Humanist schools of philosophical thought it would seem that the radical Christian-Humanist influence is stronger than the Marxist. This can be seen in his appeals to 'humanity' and 'freedom' in his analysis rather than grounding his argument in a theory of the state. This leads to a promotion of an atheoretical tendency, with a concentration on the individual who holds authority.

In summary

Freire seems to draw more on the participatory theory of democracy than on the liberal or Marxist theories which were described in Chapter Three. While he aligns himself firmly with the oppressed, he does not place class struggle and political action at the centre of his theory. In his later writings links with the revolutionary movements were seen as crucial, although the form they should take, and the role of education within them, was not developed by Freire. The creation of critical thinkers, who would be'actors' in the world, was a primary objective. The internal participatory educational process was elaborated in detail and while Freire 'stressed the need for political clarity ... rather than techniques and methods'[61] his work does tend to argue for the correct method within the radical educational process. The tension between not wanting to impose ideas on learners and teaching the correct theory runs through his work.

One of the implications of this tension within his work for organisations using his theory, may be the priority given to internal accountability rather than external accountability, with a concomitant lack of a collective view of social change strategies. Equality in relationships, and the processes of action and reflection, can become ends in themselves even though the rhetoric may be militant.

Chapter Seven

ANTONIO GRAMSCI

Background

Gramsci's central and ongoing concern was the revolutionary transformation of Italian society. During his active political life-time, World War 1, the Russian revolution, the possibility for a socialist revolution and the rise of fascism, had all been integral to his experience. In prison from 1927 until his death in 1937, Gramsci grappled with and reflected on these experiences. He believed that in order to transform the present it is necessary to know its distant origins. For this reason he felt that in order to understand the victory of fascism and to find ways to transform the state, he needed to study the formation of the Italian state, the lack of political unity in the Italian bourgeoisie, and the absence of a genuine bourgeois-democratic revolution in Italy.

Gramsci's views on adult education are intimately linked to his views on the state. The most explicit reference to adult education is made in connection with the Factory Councils in northern Italy in 1920 and there is very limited material in English on the Factory Council movement. Because his educational theories are integrated with his social theories, it is necessary to understand his theory of the state and flowing from that, his theory of social transition.

The aim of this chapter, as with the previous one, is to explore the relevance of the analytical tools which have been identified as potentially being used to probe the empirical data. This will be done through a discussion of Gramsci's views on education for democratic participation.

Gramsci's theory of the state

Gramsci took Marx and Engel's concept of hegemony in civil society and made it a central theme of his own version of the functioning of the capitalist system. He elevated what he called 'hegemony' to a predominant place in the science of politics, and in so doing he emphasised much more than earlier writers the role of ideology in perpetuating class relations and preventing the development of working class consciousness. By so doing he also broadened the meaning of politics to include 'base and superstructure'.[62] He assigned to the state part of the function of promoting a single bourgeois concept of reality. He therefore, gave the state a more extensive role in perpetuating the class structure than orthodox Marxists. They saw the state as primarily a repressive force which was an arm of the ruling class. Gramsci saw the mass of workers as being able to develop class consciousness themselves, but he also saw the obstacles to consciousness as more formidable in western societies than Lenin had imagined. It was not merely lack of understanding of their position in the economic process that kept workers from comprehending their class role, nor was it only the 'private' institutions of society, such as religion, which were responsible for keeping the working class from self-realization, but it was the state itself that was involved in reproducing the relations of production. In other words the state was much more than the coercive apparatus of the bourgeoisie; it included ideological hegemony of the bourgeoisie.

The importance of the state as an apparatus of hegemony for Gramsci is therefore still rooted in the class structure defined by and tied to the relations in production. This is the key to understanding Gramsci.[63] Gramsci provides an analysis of historical development which rejects the narrower Marxist version of civil society as incomplete and not relevant to the western situation. But at the same time he does not deny that ideology is intimately connected to relations in production:[64]

> ... for though hegemony is ethical-political, it must also be economic, must necessarily be based on the decisive nucleus of economic activity.

It is not the separation of ideology from the economic base which Gramsci stresses, but rather the dialectical relation between them. He uses the concept of 'historic bloc' to describe this unity.

Hegemony and the hegemonic function of the state emanates from both the nature of the bourgeoisie as an ideologically all-encompassing class and its particular position of economic power in capitalist society. It is Gramsci's treatment of hegemony which explains the development, or lack of development, of working class consciousness, so important to any Marxist political analysis.

Gramsci raises man's thought (consciousness) to a newly prominent place in Marxism. Control of consciousness is as much or more an arena of political struggle as control of the forces of production:[65]

> Furthermore, another proposition of the philosophy of praxis (as he called Marxism) is also forgotten: that 'popular beliefs' and similar ideas are themselves material forces.

The state therefore as an instrument of bourgeois domination must be involved in the struggle over consciousness, must be an intimate participant in that struggle. Bourgeois development is not only carried out through the development of the forces of production but through hegemony in the arena of consciousness. The state is involved in this extension, not only in the coercive enforcement of bourgeois economic power but also through consent. He emphasises the active role of the dominant class in perpetually reproducing its hegemony and suggests that it is not only the progressive forces that have to carry out a 'war of position', but also the the dominant class. Gramsci argues that the bourgeoisie will only resort to the coercive power of the state if they cannot obtain consent. The coercive forces otherwise remain in the background, normally acting as a system of enforcement and threat but not overt coercion, except in certain circumstances.

If the arena of consciousness for Gramsci is the primary struggle between the dominant and subordinate classes, then how do things change? How do the subordinate classes overcome the hegemony of the dominant classes? In order to understand Gramsci's answer to these questions I will describe the role of intellectuals, the concept of commonsense, and the role of the revolutionary party, as part of a theory of transition. Examples of his own practice will also be described.

Theory of transition

Gramsci's analysis of intellectuals is part of his analysis of the state. He saw them as the important cog needed to come to intellectual grips with 'the political and civil society' which makes up the state. A primary concern for him was the creation of organic intellectuals of the proletariat and the mobilisation of disillusioned bourgeois and working class intellectuals who had become separated from their class origins.

He was dissatisfied with previous criteria for classifying people as intellectuals or non-intellectuals. He saw everyone as 'a thinker', as 'a philosopher', because as he said, 'Everyone has his own conception of the world.'[66] He thought a more useful method of classification would be to describe their social functions. He believed that the notion of intellectuals as a distinct social category independent of class is a myth. There are 'traditional intellectuals' whose position has a certain inter-class aura, but it derives ultimately from past and present class relations and conceals an attachment to various historical class formations. Gramsci believed that the 'traditional intellectuals' did not necessarily serve ruling class interests. He asserts that the relationship between traditional intellectuals and the ruling class is not necessarily and always immediate.[67]

'Organic intellectuals', Gramsci defines as the thinking and organising elements of a fundamental social class. They do not have the role of intellectual necessarily, but are distinguished by their function in directing the ideas and aspirations of the class to which they belong. For example, the organic intellectuals of the working class are defined on the one hand by their role in production and in the organisation of their work, and on the other by their 'directive' political role focused on the party.

Gramsci believed that if the working class is to take over the leadership of the nation it must create its own organic intellectuals. The new intellectuals required by the working class would differ profoundly from the bourgeois intellectuals. The new intellectuals must be active participants in practical life, as organisers and 'permanent persuaders'. The relationship between knowledge and power needed to change and the division between manual and mental labour needed to be eroded. As he wrote:[68]

> Intellectuals' error consists in believing that it is possible to *know* without understanding and especially without feeling and passion.... If the relations between intellectuals and the people-nation, between leaders and led, is the result of organic participation in which feelings and passion become understanding and thence knowledge ... then and then only is the relation one of representation....

He saw intellectuals as having a directive and organisational function which is educative. Intellectuals needed to be connecting people's historical experience dialectically with laws of history and to a superior conception of the world. The largely uncritical and unconscious way that the masses perceive and understand the world he termed'commonsense'.[69] This commonsense must be challenged so that commonsense becomes 'good sense'. The extension of critical intellectual activity in close linkage with the political practice of the counter-hegemonic movement amongst ever-broadening sections of the population must occur. In this way ideas are not only corrected and made adequate to the situation, but they become a 'material force'.

The starting point of critical elaboration he saw as knowing oneself as a product of the historical process. It is vital that the mass of people are led to think coherently about the world. Unity between intellectuals and 'the simple' and between theory and practice need to be achieved. Contact between intellectuals and 'the simple' needs to be the source of problems to be studied and resolved. The problems and principles need to be made coherent through practical activity. It is in the revolutionary party that the obliteration of distinctions between workers and intellectuals and between theory and practice should occur. Gramsci believed that the party had a key role to play in the formation of its own intellectuals and in the welding together of organic intellectuals of a given group and the traditional intellectuals.

The relationship between commonsense and the upper level of philosophy is assured by 'politics'. An intellectual and moral bloc must be constructed of intellectuals and masses which will make the intellectual progress of the masses possible. The revolutionary party must lead the creation of the intellectual and moral bloc. Intellectuals by being members of the party become one of the intellectuals of the proletariat itself, its organic intellectuals. Gramsci did not see the intellectuals' specific function as giving the working class its homogeneity and vision of the world. It was the party, not the intellectuals, who would enable the subaltern classes to become hegemonic. The workers he saw as the conscious and intelligent protagonists of revolution.

An important question for Gramsci was how to overcome the division between the leaders and the led? How can there be a hegemonic relationship between leaders and led? How can a real, an organic unity, a collective will, be forged? Sassoon[70] illustrates how the hegemony created by the working class movement must, according to Gramsci, be democratic. She quotes the following passage from his work entitled 'Hegemony and Democracy':

> Among the many meanings of democracy, it seems to me that the most concrete and realistic one must be connected with the concept of 'hegemony'. In a hegemonic system, democracy exists between the leading group and the groups which are led, to the extent that the development of the economy and therefore legislation, which expresses that development, favours the (molecular) passage from the groups which are ruled to the ruling group.

He defined democratic centralism in terms of the creation of a true democracy as the only way to relate to a constantly contradictory and changing reality. Also centralism , or the creation of unity is only real and effective to the extent that the organisaton is democratic, and democracy is possible in so far as there is a process of discussion and debate which ensures a constant raising of the intellectual and political level of the mass of members.[71] Gramsci does not talk of precise forms of organisation. He insists that organisational questions are political problems and cannot be treated as absolutes. He is critical of Bordiga's schematic view of organisation in which a certain pattern of organisation is assumed as universally valid. This he relates to a mechanical view of history in which the organisation itself is abstracted from the historical process. He believes that there can be no abstract rules of organisation since organisational forms are always related to a concrete situation, to political questions and crucially to a concept of politics.[72] It is instructive to look at Gramsci's own practice in the Factory Council Movement in order to grasp his ideas more fully both in terms of organisation and education. This we will now do.

L'ORDINE NUOVO AND THE FACTORY COUNCIL MOVEMENT

Gramsci with three others began publishing the journal *L'Ordine Nuovo* in May 1919. He had been totally immersed in the working class movement of Turin from 1917 where he had worked ceaselessly, had proved acceptable to the hard-line proletarians who ran its socialist section, and had built up a close knit circle around his small-group teaching.

L'Ordine Nuovo was a journal directed to factory workers and militants. In June 1919 the article on 'Workers Democracy' revolutionized the journal. It became the 'journal of the factory councils'. In this article which was written 'to stimulate thought and action', Gramsci posed the question, 'How is the present to be welded to the future, satisfying the urgent necessities of the one and working effectively to create and "anticipate" the other?'[73] In answer to this question, he proposed that the internal commissions within the factories, and ward councils in the communities should be developed as organisations of workers democracy and proletarian power. They should include both representative and direct forms of democracy. He believed that ward councils and factory councils controlled by elected workers representing the whole work process, could be 'a magnificient school of political and administrative experience'. The councils, through ongoing education by the most highly conscious workers, 'should increase the readiness and capacity of the masses for the exercise of power, and diffuse a consciousness of the rights and duties of comrade and worker that is concrete and effective, since it has been spontaneously developed from living historical experience'.[74] Workers were urged to examine collectively and discuss the problems. The central focus was the ward council. This was in accord with the conception of soviets then current in Italy. The proletarian state power implicit in these institutions was to become explicit within the factory here and now.

During July and August 1919, regular discussions built up into an ongoing exchange through the columns of *L'Ordine Nuovo*. The circulation of the journal was channelled through working class institutions. There was strong resistance from the unions to the new plans. Gramsci did not see them as appropriate institutions for building the socialist state. It was necessary to organise an anti-state, a vast network of proletarian institutions in a complex and articulated hierarchy which could effectively wage the class struggle. The Party he saw as remaining the 'superior hierarchy of this irresistible mass movement', but he saw the need for revolutionary spontaneity that was not crushed by either union or party bureaucracy.[75] A certain degree of autonomy which encouraged'energy and enthusiasm', was required for the functioning of the Councils. The Party, he wrote, had the heaviest historical responsibility:

> to promote by incessant activity relations of natural interpenetration and interdependence between the various institutions of the working class that will enliven its discipline and organisation with a revolutionary spirit.
> (12 June 1920)

In early 1920 over 150 000 workers had been organised in the council system in Turin. However the movement failed to extend itself outside the area of Turin. It became isolated and struggled to advance under a blizzard of attacks from all sections of the socialist movement. The bosses and the state finally smashed the councils after a mass strike in April 1920. *L' Ordine Nuovo* and the Factory Councils were arenas where Gramsci developed his theory and hispractice of counter-hegemonic struggle. Consciousness-raising amongst the workers through the journal and through small group discussions and study circles, he saw as the first step. The workers needed to convert their 'commonsense' to 'good sense'. The development of working class organisations was the next important part of the strategy. Through practical involvement in the administration and management of the councils, workers could learn both skills and could develop 'a ruling class consciousness' which would enable them to begin to visualise an alternative socialist society, and the strategies to obtain it.

The conflict within the revolutionary socialist movement over the 'council strategy' was epitomised in the differences between Gramsci and Bordiga, another leading member of the Italian Communist Party. Gramsci concentrated minutely on the mass base, its organisation and its incorporation into new institutions which were to be the nuclei of the proletarian state. 'Preparation' was the key word. Every opportunity was taken to create a communist consciousness. For example he said, '. . . it is necessary that comrades realise that to hold a meeting is a serious thing'; they had the duty to conduct the meeting so that it 'becomes an efficient moment of revolutionary education for the masses'. He saw no distinction between means and ends. On the other hand, Bordiga's solution was a rigid and purist communist party based on a narrowly defined proletariat, shunning alliances with other parties

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and groups, drilling the masses in a schematic form of 'communism'. The masses had to be delivered from a state of false-consciousness.[76] Gramsci was more concerned with growth and development, and believed that without an active change in consciousness, revolution would be mere manipulation[77]:

> If revolution comes by decree from above the worker simply changes his boss ... the factory will remain alien and work a slavery....

The differences between Bordiga and Gramsci are more than simple opposition. They are central in the permanent dialogue within the revolutionary workers' movement. Both stress the imperative of 'living communist'. The centrality of Bordiga's scheme was the party. The basic differences stem from the definition of interaction between the party and the masses, the relationship of theory and practice, which in turn relate back to different theories of the state. Bordiga's stress on individual conversion to the service of a class in an uncontaminated class party reflects a strong sense of Marxism as a science. The danger is that the 'science' will be perceived as a once and for all acquisition and become paralyzing sectarian dogma. Gramsci was committed to 'creative intervention' and alive to the play of historically conditioned social forces. Gramsci was exploring the essential problem of breaking the bourgeois hegemony over workers' minds, the need for workers to think themselves into historical autonomy without which no permanent revolution is possible. Bordiga was concerned with 'conversion' while Gramsci was concerned with the 'process of conversion'.

In summary

For Gramsci adult education was central to politics. He saw the struggle for a new working class culture as taking the form of a struggle for a mass philosophy able to make each party member an 'organic intellectual'. He saw it involving a range of democratic activities including modes of thinking, (including philosophy as acquisition of a coherent vision of the world), modes of living and feeling. In order to transform society Gramsci believed that people needed to know what the new world could be like. The first task was therefore to 'make revolution in the mind'. Thus, the development of coherent theory was central to Gramsci's theory of social transition and his educational practice.

The role of the adult educator, in the form of the organic intellectual or the party, was clear. The educator needed to be directive in the process of 'connecting people's historical experience dialectically with laws of history....' For Gramsci Marxism provided a correct theory which helped transform 'commonsense' to 'good sense'. However, Marxism was not used as a dogma which was outside of history. The pursuit of intellectual activity, he argued, should occur in close linkage with political practice and so be continually challenged and transformed by practice. The educational relationship which acknowledged the superiority of the teacher's knowledge was not necessarily authoritarian. The importance of knowledge being generated through praxis (Gramsci and Freire appear to have similar views on this) worked against the notion of an authoritarian teacher-learner relationship. Action and critical reflection were crucial components of the educational process.

Participatory democratic practices were also seen by Gramsci as integral to the educational process. The development of working class organisations in the Council movement Gramsci saw as the practical and political task of hegemony: to organise and unify the working class so that it would acquire from its own experience 'a responsible consciousness of the obligations that fall to classes achieving State power'.[78] At the core of Gramsci's practice was the connection between destruction and construction. The councils were seen as the embryonic form of the new society in the womb of the old. He wrote that:[79]

> A social group can, and indeed must, already exercise leadership (i.e. be hegemonic) before winning governmental power.

Therefore the basis of his strategy was to organise workers and peasants in order both to wage a frontal attack against the state, and to establish working class organisations as the foundations of a new culture. Through democratic participation in the management and the operation of the organisations theoretical and technical skills would be acquired. Gramsci, like the participatory democratic theorists, argued that learning occured through participation itself. Unlike the participatory democratic theorists, he also believed that the revolutionary party had a fundamental role to play in the transformation of the society and in the education of the masses. The relationship to the party therefore became an important question for education.

Gramsci's ideas were partially a critique of the prevailing economism amongst the orthodox Marxists of the day. He expanded the concept of 'politics' to include economic, social, ideological and political factors. His expanded concept of hegemony has created alternative possibilities for Marxists in their development of a theory and practice of transition from a capitalist state to a socialist one. These include the notion of widespread democratization of many aspects of social, political and economic life; the acceptance of community organisation as an important aspect of the working class struggle; and the creation of democratic institutions where workers can obtain a 'ruling class consciousness' through theoretical and practical experience.

Thus, Gramsci has been one of the social theorists to have strongly influenced the elaboration of an alternative Marxist theory of democracy. In brief, he emphasises the following as crucial to educational and political action:

- education is integral to political practice.
- educational practice must be based on a theory of the state and a theory of transition which have been developed out of an analysis of bourgieos hegemony within the capitalist state. It is concerned with the development of organic intellectuals of the working class.
- education is concerned with the development of critical consciousness amongst the subordinate clâsses, which may include the proletariat, the peasants and the petit bourgeoisie. Critical consciousness is developed through political struggle, through full participation in the management and the execution of work, through the study of history and political thought which promotes an understanding of the issues and problems, and the development of skills i.e. knowledge consists of theory and existential experience which is located historically within its context, and is based on action and reflection.
- education must be connected to relevant social and political movements so that it can take its lead from them, and it then forms part of a broader collective of counter-hegemonic forces. The exact relationship with the movement would be dependent on the specific circumstances, but the ideal would seem to be a dialogical relationship which allows some autonomy of action by the various groupings.
- education is about means and ends, process and content, where politics is defined to include economics, social, ideological and political factors.
- education is involved in the creation of a vision of the future through its daily practice i.e. it is concerned with destruction and construction.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCEPTUAL TOOLS FOR THE ANALYSIS OF SELF-EDUCATION WITHIN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

The research approach that has been adopted in this study was elaborated in Chapter One. An inductive rather than a deductive approach is being followed. This implies that the empirical data is central in the development of theory rather than it being used primarily to test certain theoretical formulations in the literature. However, in order to analyse the complex social reality as conveyed in the case studies a set of conceptual tools is needed.

Possible analytical tools were identified in Chapter Four after the review of the literature on voluntary associations. They were four integrative organisational processes i.e. action, critical reflection, theory and participatory democratic practices, and one which related the organisations to their broader historical, social and political contexts. The potential and the meanings of the 'tools' for analysis of self-education within community organisations were explored through discussions of the work of Illich, Freire and Gramsci. At this stage it is possible to say that, judging from the discussions in the previous two chapters, the conceptual tools did highlight crucial issues for their educational theory and practice. But in order to assess finally the potential value of the analytical tools it is necessary to reflect on their relevance in relation to the emerging empirical data. This can be done by referring to 'The Checklist of Categories for the Investigation of the Cases' in Appendix One of the thesis.

Six primary categories emerged through the process of participant observation within one of the case studies over a period of eighteen months. The categories were:

- *background and history*- this included the relationship of the organisation to the external context through its members' social and political location; through its relationship to the economic and political circumstances; and through its relationships with other organisations.
- *organisational structures*, goals and strategies – this referred to the formal arrangements within the organisation for carrying out its action plans.
- *education, training and development of members* – this included approaches to informal and nonformal educational practices within which the relationship between theory and practice and action and reflection were highlighted.
- *internal processes and procedures* – this brought into focus the issues around the democratic practices within the organisation.
- *relationships with other organisations* – this related both to the organisation's action programme and to its relationship with the broader social and political context.
- *problems and constraints which affect the organisation's functioning* – this identified the internal and external circumstances which placed limitations on the organisation and which revealed the contradictions imbedded within it.

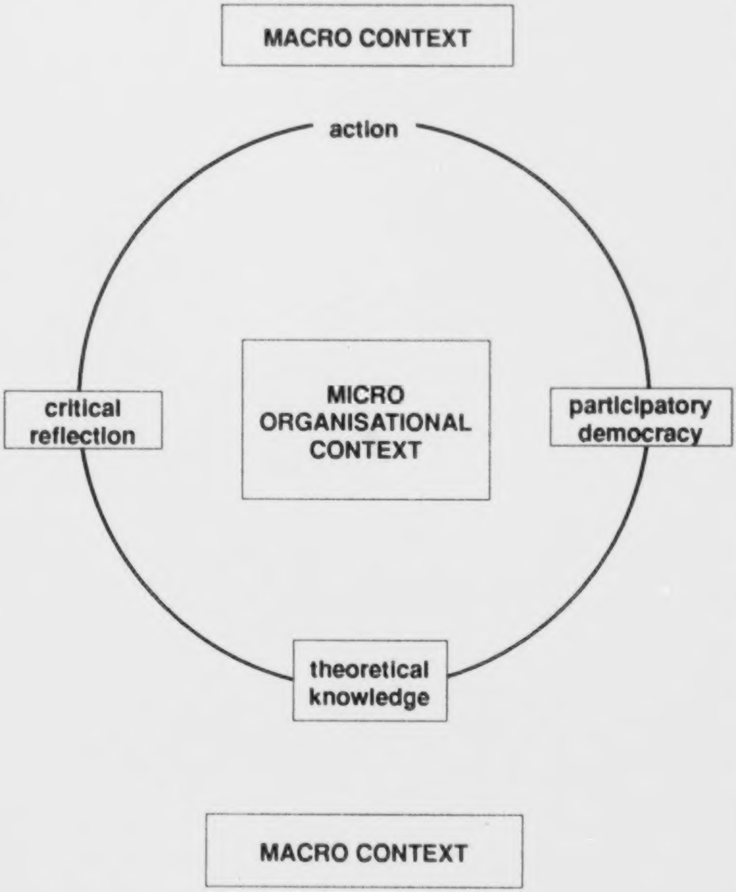
In considering the above categories it appears that the five conceptual tools could provide the necessary instruments for the probing and analysis of the self-educational practices within the case studies. A diagrammatic presentation of the conceptual tools is presented on page 105.

Before proceeding to the case studies it is necessary to reiterate briefly some of the insights which were gained from discussions of the works of Illich, Freire and Gramsci in relation to the conceptual tools.

A key issue which has emerged from the theoretical discussions is the importance of the macro context on the formation of voluntary associations and the practices within them. All three theorists were developing their theory and practice during periods of bourgeois hegemonic crisis. Freire stressed the importance of the 'transitional period from one epoch to another' for the educational process. Gramsci argued that the forms that organisations took were influenced by the political and social circumstances and therefore needed to be understood within their historical context.

While it is essential to acknowledge the important influence of the broader context on the internal processes within organisations, it is very difficult to demonstrate this dialecticalrelationship. One way of attempting to show the

A diagrammatic presentation of the conceptual framework for the analysis of self-education within voluntary associations


MACRO CONTEXT
action
critical reflection
MICRO ORGANISATIONAL CONTEXT
participatory democracy
theoretical knowledge
MACRO CONTEXT

linkages is through the use of democratic theories as analytical tools. As has been mentioned previously, theories of democracy pertain to both the way relationships are ordered on a micro level and the broader ordering of society. Already the work of the three theorists has been discussed in relation to the liberal, participatory and Marxist democratic theories. This helped to identify the underlying theoretical assumptions concerning society and its transition which were imbedded within their work.

The democratic theories highlighted the attitude of the different theorists to relationships with external groupings or political parties as part of their conceptions of social change. Thus, the 'action' component related both to micro educational practices and to more explicit 'political action'. People like Kindervatter and the LBP theorists, referred to in Chapter Four, highlighted the internal educational processes and practices, while others like Freire, Gramsci and Perlman all stressed the integral role of political action within the educational process.

In order for 'action', which also refers to experience, to become an integral part of the educational practices it has to be accompanied by critical reflection. Experience and concrete social problems were stressed by Freire as the source for the educational focus. While Gramsci agreed with this, he also stressed the need for learners to be taught correct theory. Illich, on the other hand, did not discuss the political nature of knowledge.

The theoretical assumptions concerning knowledge influenced the views on the role of the coordinators/facilitators/teachers. There was noticeable ambivalence within Freire's work between nondirective and directive approaches. All three of the theorists stressed the creation of active, critical thinkers who require help from either a politically more conscious member, or from an outsider, or peers. Illich appears to see the teacher as putting learners in touch with facts which the learners themselves request and imparting of skills. Gramsci is more clear about the role of the 'facilitator' as having to connect people's historical situation with laws of history. The relationship does not necessarily have to be dialogical; the relationship should not be fixed but should be defined by the political purpose. Freire insists on a particular relationship. The starting point for both of them is for people to know themselves as products of history. For Gramsci authority lies with the political party as representative of the working class. For Freire and Illich authority rests with individuals.[80]

Finally, the question of participatory democratic practices has been seen as integral to the educational processes by all three of the theorists. Freire and Gramsci described particular organisational forms in the Culture Circles and the Factory Councils – they agreed that the oppressed should participate in the administration and management of their own organisations. But the precise meaning of 'democratic participation' was not elaborated. However, as discussed previously in Chapter Three, the meanings are likely to vary according to the democratic theory or theories which are most influential in a given context. It can also be anticipated that the meaning of 'democratic participation' in a particular context is continually being negotiated and contested. Because of the different and competing 'commonsense' notions of democracy, particular tensions will exist amongst participants within a given situation concerning their differing assumptions about democracy. The conceptions of education's role and the form that education takes within the democratic process at a particular historical moment will inevitably be influenced by these ongoing negotiations and contestations. Once more the imperative of having to locate the educational practices within these broader questions is emphasised.

In the next section, using the set of analytical tools which have been identified and elaborated, the self-education strategies of certain community organisations in Cape Town in the 1980s will be described and analysed.

NOTES TO PART THREE

Chapter Five

1. See for example E. Cohen-Rosenthal 'Participation as pedagogy: quality of working life and adult education,' in CONVERGENCE vol. XV no. 1 1982; and a working paper by G. A. Wheale 'Participation - in what sense educational?' University of Cape Town 26 April 1983.
2. All education is categorised into these three areas of operation by P. Coombs et al 1973 NEW PATHS TO LEARNING FOR RURAL CHILDREN AND YOUTH. ICED.
3. Historical examples of educational activities are given in articles by W. Muraskin 'The hidden role of fraternal organisations in the education of black adults: Prince Hall Freemasonry as a case study' in ADULT EDUCATION vol. XXV1 no. 4 v1976; C. Kirkwood 'Community development and popular participation', paper delivered to the Scottish Council of Social Services'-Summer School in August 1979; J. Lotz 'The Antigonish Movement: a critical analysis'in STUDIES IN ADULT EDUCATION vol. 5 no. 2 Oct. 1973
4. J. E. Thomas and G. Harries-Jenkins Adult education and social change'in STUDIES IN ADULT EDUCATION vol. 7 no. 1 April 1975
5. See Note 39 in Part Two
6. C. Mercer 'Revolutions, Reforms or Reformulations? Marxist Discourse on Democracy'in Alan Hunt ed. 1980 MARXISM AND DEMOCRACY London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd.
7. C. Mc Connell 'Definitions, methods, paradigms', and A. Barr 'Practice models and training issues', both in L. Bidwell and C. Mc Connell 1982 COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT Scotland: Dundee College of Education.
8. This example will be elaborated fully later in the paper.
9. K. Jackson and B. Ashcroft 'Adult education, deprivation and community development - A critique', paper presented to a conference held by the Nuffield Teacher Enquiry at University of York in April 1972.
10. T. Lovett 'Community development - a network approach'in ADULT EDUCATION no. 46 Sept. 1973; 1975 ADULT EDUCATION, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE WORKING CLASS Britain: Ward Lock; 'The challenge of community education in social and political change'in CONVERGENCE X1 1978a; 'Politics, conflict and community action in Northern Ireland'in INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT no. 39-40 Summer 1978b; *et al* 1983 ADULT EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY ACTION London: Croom Helm.
11. *Ibid.* 1975 chap. 3

12. Jackson *op. cit.* n.9.
13. Lovett 1978a *op. cit.* n.10.
14. See F. Adams 1975 UNEARTHING SEEDS OF FIRE. THE STORY OF HIGHLANDER U. S. A.: John Blair, Winston-Salem.
15. See Lovett 1978a *op. cit.* n.10. and Lotz *op. cit.* n.3.
16. Lovett 1983 *op. cit.* n.10.
17. In Foreword to J. Thompson ed. 1980 ADULT EDUCATION FOR A CHANGE London: Hutchinson.
18. See T. Jackson 'The influence of Gramsci on Adult Education' in CONVERGENCE XV1V no. 3 1981.
19. Ettore Gelpi 1979 A FUTURE FOR LIFELONG EDUCATION vol 1. Britain: University of Manchester page 24.

Chapter Six

20. C. Gerard 1976 REVOLUTION IN THE THIRD WORLD MYTHS AND PROSPECTS Britain: The Harvester Press, presents a useful synopsis of several of these struggles. .
21. R. Ruddock 1981 IDEOLOGIES FIVE EXPLORATORY LECTURES Britain: University of Manchester Press.
22. A brief synopsis of the debate is included here:

The development strategy which dominated the United Nations first development decade (1960-1970) is often referred to as the 'GNP- trickle down'model. Proponents of this model have assumed that development is synonymous with western, particularly North American, urban societies, and can be achieved through capital investment, industrialization and GNP growth. According to S. Kindervatter 1979 NONFORMAL EDUCATION AS AN EMPOWERING PROCESS USA: C. i.e. University of Massachusetts (chapter two) critics of the GNP growth or 'stages of economic growth' model base their criticisms on:

- evidence of declining economic and social conditions in many Third World countries;
- recognition that the world's resources are limited;
- an acceptance that Third World countries are part of a highly integrated and complex system of unequal power relations; and
- the inappropriateness/irrelevance of the implicit assumptions of Western economic theory for the actual conditions in Third World countries.

In contrast to the 'GNP-trickle down'model other theories of development which were being debated stressed 'people'. The 'structural-international'school of thought (see M. Todaro 1981 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD USA: Longman Chapter 3) emphasise the need for structural and instiutional reforms in order to eradicate absolute poverty, provide expanded job opportunities and lessen the income inequalities. Therefore, development strategies should be judged in terms of what is happening to poverty, unemployment and inequality.

By the mid 1970s some of the 'people orientated' perspectives were captured in the term 'another development'which was defined by the Dag Hammarsjold Foundation 1975 'What now: Another development'in DEVELOPMENT DIALOGUE: Sweden. M. Nerfin 1977 ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT: APPROACHES AND STRATEGIES Sweden: Dag Hammarsjold Foundation describes it as: need-orientated, endogenous, self-reliant, ecologically sound, and based on the transformation of social structures.

The causes of underdevelopment were being redefined by the critics of the GNP growth model. (Important neo-marxist critics were P. Baran 1962 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GROWTH USA: Monthly Review Press; and A. G. Frank 'The development of underdevelopment'MONTHLY REVIEW 18 No. 4 1966) Whereas strategists of the first development decade had generally assumed that the problem of underdevelopment was a matter of inherent deficiencies within the Third World which would be solved by these countries 'catching up'with the technologically advanced countries, the critics linked the conditions of underdevelopment to a history of unequal power relationships based on a highly unequal international capitalist system of rich country-poor country relationships.

Their analysis pointed to a two pronged approach to the problem of underdevelopment: the need to confront internal economic and social problems, for example, inadequate rural health care, and to change external relationships with technologically advanced countries so that 'dependency'of poor countries on rich countries would be minimised. Examples of strategies put forward can be found in Denis Goulet's work, 1975 THE CRUEL CHOICE: A NEW CONCEPT IN THE THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT New York: Atheneum; 'An ethical model for the study of values'in HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW 41(2) May 1971; also James Grant 'Accelerating progress through social justice'in INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT REVIEW XVI (3) 1972.

The concept of self-reliance became an important component of 'another development'. Self-Reliance was promoted as a development strategy by the publication of the Arusha Declaration in Tanzania in 1967, and the Cocoyoc Declaration in Mexico in 1974 - these declarations can be found in J. Galtung *et al* 1980 SELF-RELIANCE A STRATEGY FOR DEVELOPMENT London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications Ltd.

Generally 'another development'outlines the features all societies require for development 'whether North or South, whether centrally planned or market dominated, at a high or low level of productivity'. It defines the meaning of development as the actual improvement of human lives rather than macroeconomic and social growth. Illich and Freire were two of the voices which were calling for 'another development', although their analysis and their proposals for action differed widely from one another.

23. I. Illich 1973 CELEBRATION OF AWARENESS Britain: Penguin

Education; and 1970 DESCHOOLONG SOCIETY USA: Harper and Row

24. See the discussion under Note 22
25. Examples of the writings are in H. Sober and A. Salz 1972 THE RADICAL PAPERS: READINGS IN EDUCATION New York: Harper and Row publ.
26. Discussed in T. Ireland 1978 GELPI'S VIEW OF LIFELONG EDUCATION Britain: University of Manchester Press, p. 11.
27. Illich 1970 *op. cit.* p. 16
28. These are also discussed in M. Apple's 'Ivan Illich and deschooling society: the politics of slogan systems'in M. Young and G. Whitty 1977 SOCIETY, STATE AND SCHOOLING Britain: Falmer Press.
29. Illich 1970 *op. cit.* Chapter 6
30. *Ibid.* p. 26
31. H. Gintis 'Towards a political economy of education: a radical critique of Illich's deschooling society'in I. Lister 1974 DESCHOOLING Britain: Cambridge University Press.
32. I. Illich 'The alternative to schooling'in Jack Nelson *et al* 1972 RADICAL IDEAS AND THE SCHOOLS USA Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
33. R. Barrow 1978 RADICAL EDUCATION Britain: Martin Robertson
34. H. Giroux 'Beyond the limits of radical reform: towards a critical theory of education'in GIROUX *op. cit.* No. 54
35. *Ibid.*
36. Examples are in P. Fordham, G. Poulton and L. Randle 1979 LEARNING NETWORKS IN ADULT EDUCATION: NONFORMAL EDUCATION ON A HOUSING ESTATE Britain: RKP
37. P. Freire 1973 EDUCATION FOR CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS New York: The Seabury Press.
38. *Ibid.* p. 10
39. *Ibid.* p. 36
40. *Ibid.* p. 38
41. P. Freire 1972b CULTURAL ACTION FOR FREEDOM USA: Penguin Books p. 21
42. Freire 1973 *op. cit.* p. 44
43. Mackie *op. cit.* Note 59 p. 43
44. Freire 1972b *op. cit.* p. 31

45. A brief elaboration of the phenomenological implications of Freire's work will be given:

A phenomenological perspective emphasises a need to return to the nature of phenomena in everyday life, that is, to contexts as they are immediately and intersubjectively experienced by members of society. The phenomenological perspective in Freire's work rests on his attempt to derive meaning from theory and practice within the life experiences of the poor, that is, sharing and understanding the meanings which they give to their predicaments. This perspective was strongly influenced by P. Berger 1963 INVITATION TO SOCIOLOGY - A HUMANISTIC PERSPECTIVE USA: Penguin. Berger believed in the dialectical approach of 'man in society and society in man'. The primary focus for phenomenologists is an understanding of the meanings which define the social reality of the actors. A major critcism of this approach is that there is more concern for the 'how'than there is for the'why'of the social world. Freire examines the obvious or 'taken for granted' assumptions which for many have become accepted as 'natural', and explores alternative ways of 'seeing'. Three main factors could be identified as examples of reflexive thinking in Freire's writings. Firstly, he does not accept uncritically the currently accepted explanations of phenomena; secondly, his writings emerge from his commitment to sharing the world of the 'dispossessed', and finally his conception of 'alternatives'are constructed within, and through, the action-reflection context of the method ology of conscientization. R. Dale 'Phenomenological perspectives and the sociology of the school'in EDUCATIONAL REVIEW vol. 25 no. 3 June 1973 argues that:

> Phenomenologists see man not as a mere passive recipient of his world but an active interpreter and constructor of it. The phenomenological sociologist must therefore seek to elucidate the processes whereby actors generate and maintain their view of the social world.

The importance of Freire's contribution to the sociology of knowledge rests in his popularisation of the alternative view of man - man standing on his own two feet as an active enquirer, rather than passive receiver of the ideas of others. From the concept of a dialogically shared inter-subjective world Freire advances a methodology of cultural action for freedom that is ". . the way in which we attack culturally our own culture. It is to take culture as always problematic and to question it without accepting the myths that ossify it and ossify us. "For these reasons conscientization is a 'painful business'because it demands not only commitment but also a radical re-examination of self in relation to others. Freire acknowledges the phenomenological orientations in his work when he says:

> The more one acquires conscientization the more one discovers reality, the more one penetrates the phenomenological essence of the object one has in

front of oneself in order to analyze it.
(Quoted in Denis Gleeson 'Theory and practice in the sociology of Paulo Freire'in HARD CHEESE Third edition. No date.)

46. Freire 1972b *op. cit.* p. 31
47. F. Youngman 1986 A SOCIALIST PEDAGOGY OF ADULT EDUCATION Britain: Croom Helm p. 61 and p. 62 (At present being published)
48. Freire 1972a *op. cit.* Chapter Two discusses the concept of 'banking'.
49. 'Dependency'is another term for 'underdevelopment'(another phase in the development of the debate). Part of the force of Freire's theory derives from the fact that it is a 'micro version'of the development/underdevelopment debate i.e. once Third World states realised or saw the conditions/relations of their underdevelopment and exploitation, they would be able to release themselves – so also with communities and individuals. But the theory takes no account of why the world is as it is in the first place.
50. Youngman *op. cit.* elaborates this point.
51. C. A. Bowers 'Culture against itself: Nihilism as an element in recent educational thought'in AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION Spring 1984.
52. *Ibid.* p. 36
53. See Entwistle *op. cit.* Note 63 for an elaboration of this aspect of Gramsci's thought.
54. H. Giroux 1981 IDEOLOGY CULTURE AND THE PROCESS OF SCHOOLING USA: Falmer Press, p. 136.
55. G. Rude 1980 IDEOLOGY AND POPULAR PROTEST London: Lawrence and Wishart
56. Freire 1972b *op. cit.* p. 57
57. Freire 1972a *op. cit.* p. 83
58. Youngman *op. cit.* p. 183
59. Gleeson *op. cit.*, Giroux *op. cit.* and J. Walker 'The end of dialogue: Paulo Freire on politics and education'in R. Mackie 1980 LITERACY AND REVOLUTION; THE PEDAGOGY OF PAULO FREIRE Britain: Pluto Press.
60. *Ibid.* Walker p. 139.
61. Freire 1978 *op. cit.* p. 146.

CHAPTER SEVEN

62. See A. Showstack Sassoon 'Gramsci: a new concept of politics and the expansion of democracy'in Hunt *op. cit.* See P. Anderson 'The antinomies of Antonio Gramsci'in NEW LEFT REVIEW No. 100, for a critique of this emphasis: he points out ambiguities in Gramsci's writing. He believes that Gramsci's strong emphasis on superstructure was perhaps a reaction to the

dominant economistic line which was prevalent at the time of writing. C. Mouffe 1979 GRAMSCI AND MARXIST THEORY London: RKP analyses Gramsci from a specifically anti-economistic point of view.

63. M. Apple 'Review of Entwistle's Gramsci'in COMPARITIVE EDUCATION REVIEW Oct. 1980 has pointed out how Gramsci is used both by reformists and revolutionaries. H. Entwistle ANTONIO GRAMSCI: CONSERVATIVE SCHOOLING FOR RADICAL POLITICS Britain: RKP is an example of someone who stresses Gramsci's ideas on ideological struggle and neglects the importance of the economic base.
64. A Gramsci 1971 SELECTIONS FROM PRISON NOTEBOOKS OF ANTONIO GRAMSCI London: Lawrence and Wishart, p. 161.
65. Ibid p. 165
66. Ibid
67. Some commentators find the category of traditional intellectuals problematic. R. Simon 1982 GRAMSCI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT London: Lawrence and Wishart believes that this category may have had relevance in Italian society but it is not appropriate for England. As he asserts, 'All intellectuals have their class location. No-one can be neutral.'There does seem to be ambiguity in Gramsci's category. J. Cammett 1967 ANTONIO GRAMSCI AND THE ORIGINS OF ITALIAN COMMUNISM USA: Stanford University Press,suggests that it is because he does not attempt to establish the exact degree of coordination between traditional intellectuals and the social groups which dominate economic production.
68. Gramsci *op. cit.* p. 418
69. There is a striking similarity between A. Schutz's description of commonsense and that of Gramsci. See 'The Stranger'in Alfred Schutz 1964 COLLECTED PAPERS 11 The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
70. Sassoon *op. cit.* p. 98
71. *Ibid.*
72. There is a discussion on Gramsci's views on organisations in S. Clegg and D. Dunkerley 1980 ORGANISATION, CLASS AND CONTROL London: RKP, p. 106
73. Quoted in NEW LEFT REVIEW No. 51 p. 1
74. *Ibid.* p. 4
75. Some writers point to the ambiguity in Gramsci's writing on the Party. In the Factory Council days he was inclined to stress spontaneity, and he spoke of the very important role of the Councils. He saw the trade unions and the Party having a more limited role. Later on, however, he emphasised the role of the Party - see, for example, R. Gombin 1978 THE RADICAL TRADITION: A

STUDY OF MODERN REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT London: Methuen and CO. Ltd; and Simon *op. cit.*

76. Rude *op. cit.* No. 55 describes Gramsci's move away from the concept of false-consciousness.

77. Quoted in G. Williams 1975 PROLETARIAN ORDER. ANTONIO GRAMSCI, FACTORY COUNCILS AND THE ORIGINS OF ITALIAN COMMUNISM 1911-1921 London: Pluto Press, p. 149.

78. A. Gramsci 1977 SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL WRITINGS 1910-1920 London: Lawrence and Wishart, p. 65.

79. Gramsci 1971 *op. cit.* p. 207.

80. This point is made by C. A. Bowers 'The problem with individualism and community in Neo-Marxist educational thought'in TEACHERS COLLEGE RECORD Vol. 85 No. 3 Spring 1984

PART FOUR

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

The three case studies, which will be analysed in Part Five, are embedded within a network of voluntary associations which proliferated in Cape Town in the late 1970s. Within this network of organisations 'democracy' emerged as an important, distinguishing ideological concept.

As we noted in Part Two, voluntary associations develop more prolifically at times of social upheaval, and at times of greater ethnic or group consciousness. They are often centrally concerned with democracy, which has a wide range of meanings. In developing the context for the investigation of educational practices within the case studies, therefore, the following questions will be posed:

- Why did new voluntary associations proliferate in the late 1970s and early 1980s in Cape Town?
- Why did democracy become such an important ideological concept for this group of new organisations, and what did it mean?

Before addressing these questions it is necessary to give background information: firstly on the relationship of these new organisations to other voluntary associations in Cape Town; and secondly on demographic and other pertinent information concerning Cape Town. Developments in Cape Town will be related to the broader South African context in the chapters which address the above questions.

CHAPTER NINE

BACKGROUND TO VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND TO CAPE TOWN

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Social service provision is an important function of certain types of voluntary associations.[1] In South Africa social services are supplied by a range of statutory and non-statutory bodies. In the following synoptic chart[2] the welfare structure is given. The voluntary associations which are the focus of this study fall within the 'independent organisation' category. They are not registered as 'welfare organisations' under the National Welfare Act, and they do not obtained any funding from the government. They are usually funded from private, local or international sources, and are not necessarily registered under the Fundraising Act.[3]

There are no laws which directly affect the membership or activities of independent organisations, yet, as Wollheim[4] points out, there are many which affect them indirectly. These include for example, the Group Areas Act, the Movement of Black Persons Act, and many others which can mobilise the State repressive apparatuses in order to stop organisational activities. Examples of the latter, are the Suppression of Communism Act (renamed the Internal Security Act in 1976), which included within the category of 'communist' any doctrine advocating political, social and economic change by disorderly means. The Act also created the category of 'unlawful organisation' and permitted the banning of persons.[5]

There are very few studies of voluntary associations in South Africa, and more specifically Cape Town.[6] From an analysis of available directories of voluntary associations, which are very limited in their scope and compiled by different sources and at different times, and from studying the local community newsletters, the local newspapers i.e. *Muslim News*, *The Herald*, *The*

Argus and *the Cape Times*, and the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) Surveys, it has been possible to compile a preliminary list of voluntary associations which were established in the 1970s and early 1980s. (This overview of voluntary associations will be published as a separate publication by the Centre for Adult Education, University of the Western Cape.) From this list of organisations certain preliminary observations can be made which shows voluntary associations in Cape Town to be similar to associations elsewhere i.e. they arise at times of social crisis. Examples include several women's organisations which were established after the student revolt of 1976; Muslim organisations which responded to the Iranian revolution in 1980; and the organisations which will be discussed in detail later, which were responses to various political developments.

One glaring gap in the information on voluntary associations, is the lack of available data on the organisations in the African townships. Webster[7] has found in Soweto that the working class devises all sorts of strategies to cope withtheir poverty and oppression. Many people are engaged in informal sector activities such as brewing beer,and hawking food, and they flesh out their inadequate income through small self-help groups, like burial societies and credit societies. Dludla[8] also found in his survey of Nyanga in Cape Town, that a high percentage of people were involved in a range of social institutions which helped to meet their various needs. As he points out 'Even a practice like a bus boycott can become institutionalized'. All these organisations are, as Webster notes, defensive responses by the working class to the crisis in which they find themselves.

Molefe[9] elaborates on some of the problems which they experience in the establishment of 'offensive' type organisations in African areas. Firstly, he believes that 'first level grassroots organisation', which have recently proliferated particularly in coloured and Indian areas, are dependent on a degree of skill and expertise which is available to professionals and intellectuals. There are far fewer professionals in African areas, and therefore, he argues, 'we see less of a natural drift towards committees or formal styles of organisation'. His second point is that there is a far lower level of repression in the Indian and coloured areas, than has characterised the African areas. Organisations are therefore less vulnerable elsewhere. The level of repression also forces many Africans to the point of believing that the only viable form of struggle is a military one. This lends itself to recruiting for the liberation army, rather than to recruiting people for 'small scale, relatively reformist community work'. His third point is that the relatively greater degree of material deprivation effects organisational possibilities. There are limited resources for people to draw on, and people who are struggling for survival may find it difficult to concern themselves with political struggles. People who have overcome the struggle for survival have more time and inclination to engage in other struggles. This argument concurs with the literature, which we discussed previously, and which notes the preponderance of the petit bourgeoisie in voluntary associations. It also echoes sentiments expressed by trade unionists in relation to their participation in the new United Democratic Front (UDF) structures. These will be discussed more fully later.

CAPE TOWN

In this section background will be given very briefly to certain distinguishing characteristics of Cape Town which will help to provide the context for the later discussion on the growth of community organisations. These will include details on population, on key political groupings, and on the 'coloured labour preference' policy.

The population of Cape Town as given in the 1970 census statistics according to race classification is as follows:[10] Coloured 606075; White 381775; African 108827; Asian 11086. People classified coloured and Asian thus comprise 56% of the population, compared to 34% white and 10% African.

Although a large proportion of the coloured population live in abject poverty, they are legally less discriminated against than Africans. The areas they live in are not fenced in, as are the African townships, although the housing position is often no better.[11] They have some right to own property and to trade in designated Group Areas. Skilled trades are open to them and they have had the right to trade union organisation, unlike Africans who were excluded by the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956. They lost the qualified franchise in 1956, and in 1952 the Group Areas Act was introduced. This was implemented during the 1960s and early 1970s, and with it 122000 people were evicted from the communities in which they had lived for generations. The relatively high degree of racial integration which had characterised Cape Town was shattered.[12]

A unique feature of the Western Cape is that it was declared a 'coloured labour preference area'.[13] The Government plannedto have all permanent urban Africans removed from the area west of the Eiselin Line.[14] They wanted to reverse the flow of African urbanisation and to restructure the industrial workforce into one composed principally of migrant labour. As a first step, the Government announced that no more funds would be made available for family houses in Langa, Cape Town's only African township at the time.

Instead only hostels for 'single' male migrant workers would be erected. By 1973, twenty-two years after the ultimate removal of Africans had been decreed, their number had all but doubled. The pressure on housing facilities became unbearable and the 'squatter' camps grew even larger. In the 1970s new camps became established at Modderdam, Werksgenot, Crossroads and Unibel, amongst others.[15]

During the 1970s there has been a noticeable degree of upward social mobility amongst coloured people.[16] There has been a decrease in the number of coloured people in the unskilled occupations, and a marked increase in the proportion of coloured people in the semi-skilled and skilled occupations. There is also a small, but growing coloured entrepreneurial class. With the formation of the Department of Coloured Affairs (CAD) and the Coloured Persons Representative Council (CPRC) many opportunities for employment were created. In 1970, 86% of the coloured people employed in the professional and managerial occupations were in fact employed by the State. These figures would have increased with the ruling in 1974 that 31000 jobs were to be reserved exclusively for coloured persons, and there was to be an increase in this protected employment by over 9% per annum.[17]

The political groupings which have historically played an important role in Cape Town particularly amongst coloured and African people are: the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM); the Congress organisations which were the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO), and the Congress of Democrats (COD); the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC); and the coloured political parties, particularly the Labour Party, which are integrated into the Apartheid structures.

The NEUM[18] was established in 1943 and it advocated the abolition of both colour bars and the capitalist mode of production. It drew its support largely from the intelligentsia and it used the principles of non-collaboration and boycott as fundamental to its policy. It had been set up to oppose the Coloured Affairs Commision established by the Smuts' Government, and had committed itself to fight against the formation of the Department of Coloured Affairs (CAD). With the eventual establishment of the CAD, coloured politics became dominated by the conflict between those who advocated boycott of separate institutions and those who felt they could use the institutions to advance coloured demands for equality.

In the 1950s with the increasing attack on coloured political, economic and social rights, various organisations formed to fight the inroads on their position. These included the Franchise Action Committee (1951), the Group Areas Action Committee (1950), and the Train Apartheid Resistance Committee.[19] The NEUM kept aloof from these organisations and directed much polemic against them on the grounds that they were collaborators and associated with the 'herrenvolk'. However for the majority of coloured leaders the only hope lay in unity of all coloured people. SACPO was formed to foster unity between moderates and radicals, and it joined the Congress Alliance in 1955. Its acceptance of the Freedom Charter[20], however, alienated many of its founding members who did not welcome a close association with the ANC. Arrests and detentions of SACPO leaders and their consequent involvement in the Treason Trial led to the eventual demise of the organisation.

With the creation of the CPRC and the enfranchisement of all coloured people over 21 years, political parties were formed, geared to elections. They demanded equal franchise with whites, and accepted the CPRC as a temporary institution, which would serve as a forum for a campaign against parallel development and improve coloured rights. In all elections of the CPRC there has been a low poll,which as Simons[21] points out, is a reminder to the Labour Party that a large section of the coloured urban population adheres to the tactics of boycott and disaproves of any form of participation.

In the African townships the PAC appears to have had a sizeable following in the early 1960s. The PAC was a breakaway Africanist tendency from the ANC.[22] The ANC appears to have been stronger in the rural areas.[23] The PAC played a leadership role in the anti-pass campaign which began on the 21 March 1960, the same day as the campaign in Sharpeville which ended with sixty-nine people dead and a hundred and eighty wounded. Ten days later they led a march of 30000 people to the centre of Cape Town. People from several groupings were involved in these actions, including the Congress alliance and PAC. The significance of this period is that it represented a turning point in the history of African resistance. The ANC and the PAC were banned and both of them established military wings, Umkhonto we Sizwe and Poqo, respectively. The NEUM while it was not banned, decided to adopt 'a low-keyed, semi-underground approach to organising'.[24]

The political groupings which arose in the 1940s and 1950s have re-emerged as important forces within contemporary worker and community organisations. Their influence will be explored more fully in a later section.

CHAPTER TEN

WHY DID NEW VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS PROLIFERATE IN CAPE TOWN IN THE LATE 1970s AND EARLY 1980s?

There was a proliferation of independent community organizations during the 1970s throughout the country. They were mainly sponsored by private enterprise or by church bodies.[25] The casestudies, which will be presented in Part Five, were threeof many which were established in Cape Town from the second half of the 1970s onwards. In this chapter the political, economic and ideological developments which appear to have influenced the growth of the new community organisations at this time, will be explored briefly. While there is not necessarily a direct causal relationship between the macro developments and the establishment of a particular organisation, an historical perspective of this kind gives a general background to the case studies. The specific histories of each of the cases will be presented later.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

During the 1960s, the South African economy had expanded more rapidly than that of any other capitalist country, except Japan, averaging an annual growth rate of, between six and eight percent. This boom gave way to a deepening recession in the early 1970s. By 1978, the country was facing the worst economic crisis in its history. The climate of insecurity was accentuated by external political developments. With the massive rise in the oil price in 1973, the relative importance of African oil producers as trading partners to Western industrial countries grew and South Africa's correspondingly diminished. More immediately, South Africa's immunity from guerilla insurgencies was substantially reduced with the collapse in 1974 of Portuguese colonial authorities in Angola and Mocambique, and the establishment of Marxist governments there. By the mid-1970s, confronted both with an international recession and growing industrial, political and economic instability within South Africa, the foreign capital which had sustained the growth of the 1960s began to dry up. By 1976, it was estimated thatAfrican unemployment stood at 2,3 million workers and at the same time there was talk of a severe shortage of skilled manpower.[26]

In response to the economic and political situation in the early 1970s, there was a re-emergence of working class and mass political movements. These movements had been quiescent since 1963 when they were brutally suppressed by the state. The re-emergence of the independent black trade union movement and the growth of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) marked the resurgence of mass resistance to the State.

From January 1973 to mid 1976, over 200 000 black workers struck work in South Africa. This was the most extensive strike wave since the early days of World War II and affected most of the main centres. The strikes started in Durban and from there an African trade union movement came to life once more. It had its nucleus in worker advisory organizations founded mainly by radical, university students. This generation of African unions avoided any political orientation and constituted themselves from the bottom up, factory by factory. This was in contrast to the broad industrial mass movement approach adopted by the Council for Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in the 1940s and 1950s. There was a strong emphasis on worker control in the worker organizations.[27]

The BCM gained its impetus from the students on the newly established black university campuses.[28] The South African Students' Organization (SASO) was launched in 1969 to mobilise students, while the Black People's Convention (BPC) and the Black Community Programmes (BCP) were established to work in the broader community. The BCM's primary aim was to liberate blacks from psychological oppression. It was concerned to develop and promote black theology, black communalism, black community business enterprise, and a rejection of apartheid institutions. During 1972 to 1977, there was a proliferation of organizations in South Africa which were related to the BCM. They were concerned with literacy, health, building schools, clinics and community centres, home education schemes, cooperative bulk buying, the establishment of factories and boutiques, and the promotion of black theatre. There was an upsurge in black drama, poetry and art which all helped to generate the aggressive atmosphere that was witnessed at the trials of the BCM groups.[29]

The University of the Western Cape (UWC) in Cape Town had a strong SASO following and during this time increasing numbers of students were becoming involved in off-campus activities. They saw as important the raising of political consciousness of the black community and their mobilisation. In 1973 they boycotted classes as a response to conditions on campus and increasing harassment from security police. During the early 1970s, a new tradition of student politics was developing which included active organisation on and off the campus. The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) was also involved off campus. Through the Wages Commissions they were active in the promotion of the new black trade union movement, and through the Communities Commission (ComCom) they were active in community work. NUSAS had moved away from its previous strategy of protest politics to involvement with the oppressed communities.[30]

In 1976 the South African state was rocked by massive uprisings which started in Soweto but spread to all the main centres.[31] Started by school pupils, soon several sections of the black communities were involved. There was widespread support from organisations and workers as the response to the call for a general strike indicated. The politicizing effect of these times on the community was apparent as resistance spread throughout the country. The African National Congress (ANC), banned in 1960, re-emerged as the political group with probably the greatest degree of popular support within the townships.[32] Students and activists turned increasingly to the study of the history of resistance in South Africa and to Marxist literature in order to understand the present and the future.[33] This latter development was similar to certain of their counterparts in Western Europe and North America whom we discussed in Part Two. (However it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the possible linkage between the two.)

Capital and the State's responses to the political and economic crises had direct consequences for community organisations. All the economic organisations of the capitalist class, except for organised agriculture, were united in agreement over the need for significant reforms in economic and political policy.[34] There was broad agreement over the nature of the desired reforms which included the improving of the legal and economic security of township residents through ameliorating influx control, improving wages and job opportunities, providing more and better housing with land ownership rights and encouraging the development of a black middle class. Employers' organisations were also united on the need for some kind of State recognition and control of organisations of collective bargaining for African workers. In the aftermath of 1976, the most overriding concern for capital was the need to secure immediate domestic stability. Particular emphasis was placed on the position of the newly discovered 'urban African' and 'black middle class'. A whole host of business-funded organisations sprang up to 'deal' with the problem. The most important of these was the Urban Foundation, jointly established and financed by many of the major corporations in South Africa. Big business through these organisations began to press for reform. Some of the new community organisations which emerged at this time became dependent to some degree on funding from these business initiatives. This created divisions between organisations particularly in Cape Town between those who would and those who refused money from these sources.[35]

The Government, which was subject to conflicting pressures from the white population, adopted both cautious reforms (for example the policy of limited accommodation of African trade unions) and continuing repression. The latter included widespread detentions of people and the banning of organisations. In late 1977, nineteen organisations which included most of the remaining BCM organisations, the Christian Institute and the newspaper *The World*, were banned, and one of the founders of the BCM, Steve Biko, died while in detention. In 1977 the government also introduced three social welfare bills which were enacted in 1978. These gave the government wide powers for the control of welfare services (welfare being defined very broadly). The most contentious of the three Acts was the Fundraising Act. The Social Welfare legislation required registration for fundraising purposes, and they entrenched the principles of separate development.[36] These Acts affected all community organisations.

By 1977, people who had been actively involved in community struggles, either through the BCM, the 1976 uprisings or worker organisations, began reflecting critically on their part in those events and activities.[37] Critiques of the BCM strategies were being developed. In 1976, theorists like Legassik and Wolpe[38] who were exiled academics linked to the South African liberation struggle, were arguing that 'class' not 'race' was the central issue in coming to understand the dynamics of State policy in South Africa. This was followed by theorists like Saul and Gelb who argued that both 'class' and 'race' were critically important.[39] They emphasised Gramsci's argument concerning the importance of ideology as an element in the ruling class maintenance of hegemony. At this time, with the re-emergence of the ANC as a political force, the theory of a non-racial national democratic struggle began to find favour with many activists, and a start was made to rebuild a national democratic opposition movement which could unite and mobilise people regardless of race or class.[40] On the white university campuses, NUSAS began to adopt a more inward looking policy which stressed the importance of self-education. White students had begun to feel increasingly redundant in oppressed communities and had withdrawn to work on campus. In 1978, the NUSAS theme was 'Education for an African future' and the aim was to encourage white students to re-define a role for themselves in a future non-racial, democratic South Africa. On some of the white university campuses at that time, a nascent women's movement was also emerging. This was strongly influenced by the International Women's Movement.[41]

By 1980 a more clearly identifiable 'national democratic movement' was beginning to form. In Cape Town during 1980 there were widespread school and consumer boycotts which had mobilised thousands of school pupils, university students, parents, commuters and workers. Through these actions, the need for ongoing mass-based organisations was identified and new organisations were established including Grassroots Community Newsletter, United Women's Organisation (UWO), Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC), Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) and numerous youth organisations. They supported a 'non-racial, national and democratic struggle' as did other organisations like NUSAS. 'Democracy' became one of the unifying concepts within this network of organisations which included locally based independent trade unions. These worker and community organisations will be discussed in the following chapter.

In summary

The reasons for the proliferation of organisations in South Africa, and Cape Town in particular, appear to concur with the findings in the literature which was discussed earlier and which states that the number of voluntary associations increases rapidly at times of social upheaval and/or increased ethnic or group consciousness. The membership and orientation of the organisations will depend on many factors such as social class, local conditions and experiences. In the next chapter we will address the questions concerning ideology and forms of organisations.

Chapter Eleven

WHY DID DEMOCRACY BECOME AN IMPORTANT IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPT FOR THE NEW VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND WHAT DID IT MEAN?

In Chapter Three democracy was described as a negotiated and contested ideological concept which has a wide range of meaning. Therborn was quoted as saying that ideologies are ongoing social processes which 'unceasingly constitute and reconstitute themselves'. Therefore we can anticipate that democracy amongst the worker and community organisations has had a range of contested meanings, which are continuously being challenged and changed. The 'commonsense' understandings of democracy amongst the members of organisations it is reasonable to assume, have been forged by a range of diverse and often contradictory forces.

It is not possible to answer in absolute terms the very complex question as to why democracy became so important for the new organisations. But it is possible to offer certain postulates which have been distilled from a study of local literature,[42] from interviews with twelve activists[43] and from my own personal involvement as a member of three of these organisations, and as a consultant /facilitator to another six. The three case studies will address this question in closer detail in Part Five. These postulates are not all encompassing. They attempt to capture what seem the most importantinfluences.

The following postulates will be explored in an attempt to address the question:

- The emergence of the independent trade union movement which called for the implementation of workers'democracy, contributed to the creation of the climate in which community organisations were developing.
- The growth of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), with the concomitant development of liberation theology and new approaches in certain churches, helped promote radical humanist values, which in turn encouraged particular attitudes within organisations.
- The reemergence of the African National Congress as an important force within the country after 1976, encouraged the adoption of popular-democratic rhetoric and strategies by the members of organisations.
- The community struggles on the ground provided activists within organisations with experiences and lessons which influenced how they functioned. Important examples of these struggles are the 1976 student riots, the 'squatter' struggles, the Fattis and Monis consumer boycott in 1979, the 1980 school and consumer boycotts, the anti-SAIC campaign, and the DBAC in 1982.
- In 1983 the development of the UDF and NF, with CAL locally, created different conditions within which organisations functioned.

THE REEMERGENCE OF THE INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

In Cape Town the reemergence of the independent trade union movement, particularly in the form of the Western Province General Workers Union (later to become the General Workers Union), and the SACTU affiliated (A)Food and Canning Workers Unions,[44] made an impact on the working class and mass struggles from the late 1970s. Cape Town had been dominated, up until that time, by the conservative, registered unions, which were primarily concerned with the organisation of skilled and semi-skilled workers. The Cape Town Municipal Workers Association (CTMWA), which had some historic links with the NEUM, was one of the few to have a dominance of semi-skilled and unskilled worker members.[45]

The reemergence of the independent trade union movement, has highlighted certain issues for activists in both worker and community organisation. These issues include: the relationship between politics and economics; the development of working class leadership; and participation or non-participation in State structures. These issues have, and are still, being hotly debated within the local community, worker and academic publications.[46]

A useful overview of the theoretical debate concerning the relationship between politics and economics is given by Hemson,[47] and will not be elaborated here. (It was touched on in Chapter Three.) What is more pertinent is a discussion of the practical manifestations of the debate and its implications for organisations. These have been found in the questions surrounding consumer boycotts,[48] work stay-aways,[49] and affiliation to more overtly political organisations, like the United Democratic Front (UDF).[50]

Within Cape Town, the consumer boycott in 1979 of Fattis and Monis products,[51] and the red meat boycott of 1980,[52] opened up new possibilities for linkages between workplace and community struggles. They also produced several lessons for both community organisations and trade unions. Analyses of the meat boycott illustrate these well; these will be discussed briefly.[53]

The workers at the Table Bay Cold Storage went on strike for a democratically elected non-racial workers' committee. The workers at other meat factories also came out on strike. At that time there was a high level of activity in Cape Town, where the school boycott had been in progress for two months, and a bus boycott was being mooted. A support committee for the meat workers was set up of members of community organisations and the WPGWU. There were two ways in which the community organisations supported the strike: firstly by collecting over R100000 to support the 800 striking workers, and secondly, they organised a boycott of red meat. While the strike did not achieve its specific goal, it has been hailed by all parties as an important event, which led up to discussions by representatives from community organisations and trade unions on how workers and community organisations could cooperate. The critical analyses of the event highlighted aspects of democratic organisation.

A major criticism centred around the position of the support committee. The WPGWU had attempted to keep control of the committee, so that workers would not lose the leadership of the struggle to petite bourgeois members of community organisations. However once the government had banned all meetings in June 1980, and had detained several of the trade unionists, communications between the union and the broader community broke down. This left the way open for those whom the trade union described as 'opportunists' from certain community organisations to take control, and to call off the boycott without consultation with either workers or the support committee.[54] It seems that both the WPGWU and community activists diagnosed the problem as a lack of democracy within the support committee. They believed that the committee needed to have been more autonomous:[55]

> ...we have also learnt the importance of the community participating fully, and making decisions about their support. This means that the community, as well as the union, must be able to control their own activities in a democratic manner. In short, then there are two lessons: Firstly unity in the struggle, secondly democracy in the struggle. Only democracy will prevent those inside the community who try to break our unity, from succeeding.

Another lesson for community organisations came through the pages of the *South African Labour Bulletin (SALB)* which publically admonished the two organisations which they believed had behaved undemocratically and not in the interests of the workers. This public criticism had far reaching implications for the people and organisations involved. On one level their credibility as community workers was called into question, and secondly, according to the director of one of the organisations, their funding was put in jeopardy because of the negative publicity.[56]

Both the GWU and the (A)FCWUs were actively promoting workers' democracy within the factories and in the unions.[57] By 1980 both unions had been involved in important labour disputes out of which grew new strategies for working class action.[58] Both saw the struggle for democracy within the workplace and in the unions as integral to the struggle for democracy in the society. The development of working class leadership through their involvement in the trade union movement, was seen as crucial for the development of working class leadership more generally.[59] However,through the collective struggles with community organisations, the differences between the forms and the functions of trade unions and other organisations, have come into focus more clearly. These differences have formed an important part of the debate concerning trade union affiliation of UDF.[60]

The independent trade unions which have argued against affiliating to the UDF have pointed to: the different class composition of the various organisations which make up UDF – this they believe leads to different possibilities for organisational forms and strategies; the importance of trade union unity as a priority at this time; and the reality of a diverse membership of their unions, which includes both radicals and conservatives of different political groupings. Trade unionists have argued that they are accountable to their workers first and foremost, and that this dictates what is possible. This does not however in theory inhibit cooperation on joint campaigns, nor does it inhibit members of trade unions from joining other community organisations in their individual capacities.

The independent trade union movement has been influenced by, and has influenced both popular and worker struggles. Amongst many activists within community organisations, the question of working class leadership is a central issue. Therefore the theory and practice of the progressive trade unions informs their own practice in important ways. The public debates concerning for example, workers' democracy, or membership of the UDF by certain unions therefore, contributes to the intellectual climate in which community organisations function.

THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT AND THE CHURCH

The BCM developed a strong base in Cape Town, particularly through SASO on the UWC campus, in the early 1970s. It also had close linkages with certain church groups. The Christian Institute[61] established in 1963, appears to have played a particularly important role. It functioned as an important part of a matrix of personal contacts for BCM and radical Christian individuals and groups which facilitated the dissemination and sharing of ideas and approaches. The CI also played an important role in the redefinition of 'Christian commitment', which assisted the development of an indigenous liberation theology. This had a lot in common with black theology which was being developed by Christians within the BCM.[62]

In this discussion we are not concerned with detailing the history of either the BCM or the radical fringe of the churches, but more with certain ideas or activities which may have influenced the later development of democratic community organisations in Cape Town. In order to do this we will look very briefly at certain of the key characteristics both in the BCM and in the more radical Christian movement. It is not possible to know how much these ideas have permeated contemporary practice, but an important consideration is that many of the people involved with the BCM and the radical Christian groups during the 1970s are still very active today in various of the community organisations. Interviews with seven of these activists, inform this discussion.[63]

The historical parameters of the emergence of the BCM are well documented,[64] and Lodge points to the contradictory nature of existing appraisals of the movement.[65] He also points to the need to locate the growth of the movement within the larger context of social development in South Africa, particularly the coming of age of a new black petty bourgeoisie at the end of the sixties. (The rapid social mobility of coloured people in Cape Town at this time has already been noted.) The BCM gained its initial impetus from leaders like Steve Biko and Barney Pityana, who had been members of the University Christian Movement (UCM) until it was banned on black university campuses. In 1969 they formed SASO, which began espousing black theology and the need for community projects. UCM had helped to shape an essential part of the programme of SASO, as the Christian view continued to be an important influence in SASO and associated organisations. While SASO was predominantly a student organisation, it also claimed to be an instrument for changing society and sought allies off campus.

In 1972 the Black People's Convention was formally launched. The aims of BPC were: toliberate andemancipate blacks from psychological and physical oppression; to create a humanitarian society where justice serves all equally; to cooperate with existing agencies with similar ideals; to reorientate the theological system with a view to making religion relevant to the aspirations of the black people; to formulate and implement an education policy of blacks, by blacks and for blacks; and to formulate, and implement the principles and philosophies of black consciousness. The BPC also committed itself to the establishment of and the promotion of black business on a cooperative basis, including the establishment of banks, cooperative buying and selling, and the flotation of companies. All of these were to be designed as agencies of communal self-reliance. It also identified the need to work with trade unions, and established the Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU).[66]

The BCM put unprecedented emphasis on the political necessity to address directly the psychological and cultural degradation suffered by blacks on an individual and collective level. Such an emphasis does have, as Couve[67] points out, distant echoes with Lembede's Africanist philosophy of the 1940s.[68]

At the end of the 1960s, as we have discussed in Part Two, there was a substantial body of literature, emanating from western capitalist countries, which stressed the importance of human agency in the struggles of all oppressed people. Gerhart[69] cites the decisive influences of Fanon's analyses of colonialism and its psychological and cultural consequences, (e.g. 1968 *The Wretched of the Earth*), the writings of Afro-Americans like Carmichael (e.g. 1967 *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*), the negritude writers like Senghor, and to a lesser extent the declarations of Kaunda and Nyerere on African humanism and socialism, on the thinking of BC ideologues.It was not so much a wholesale transposition but rather a selective importation and adaptation of ideas eminating from heterogeneous African and Afro-American analyses of racial and colonial oppression. In Cape Town the United States Information Service was actively promoting the BCM by making civil rights literature, films and speakers available fromthe U.S.A.70

The BC ideologues like Biko[71] and Pityana[72] reveal an almost exclusive emphasis on the psychological and cultural oppression, and if economic and political oppression is recognized, it is not understood in terms other than those of psychological and cultural oppression. Couve[73] points out that Fanon's influential work is marked by an inability to integrate his radical psychology and his own theory of class struggle. This inability is also reflected in another local study which was purported to have had an important influence on both the BCM and radical Christians,namely that of Rick Turner.[74] This will be discussed later.

Couve captures the essence of the BC ideology when he states that the ideology of racial superiority is a means whereby blacks come to believe in the psychological and cultural inferiority foisted upon them. An intrinsic part of the BC strategy was to develop an ideology by which the process of psychological and cultural inferiorization and the process of division could be combatted. At the centre of this ideology is the representation of the black man reduced to the status of an empty shell.[75] This representation provides a formidable condensation of the various feelings and complexes engendered by racial ideology in which black subjects can recognize their oppressed condition.

The ideology however guarantees and promises the restoration or recovery of a wholeness which has been lost in the history of contact with the dominant white racist group. In contradistinction to the 'empty shell', is a representation of the black man who has found himself, undone his complicity in his own misuse, a black man infused with pride and dignity. Thus a representation emerges, of a black man with his own positive, authentic attributes: humanist, communally oriented, sharing in the community.

During 1972-1977 there was a proliferation of organisations in South Africa which were connected to SASO, BPC and BCP.[76] Each organisation had its own special programme. The South African Council of Churches (SACC) and related bodies like the CI assisted the BCM financially, and with other material and human resources. The Black Communities Project (BCP) was a CI project which provided funds so that people like Biko and Pityana could be employed to work full-time.

Within the churches in the early 1960s, particularly after Sharpeville, there was a great deal of discussion concerning the role of the church in the Apartheid society. Amongst a group of Christians there were attempts to move the church to become more relevant within South African society. In 1963, under the vigorous leadership of Dr.Beyers Naude and heavily financed from abroad, the CI tried initially to influence white Christians by means of bible study and prayer groups. Disillusioned with white response, the CI gradually moved towards almost exclusive involvement with black liberation. There were several steps in this evolution. It began with the organisation of theological training for the ministers of independent African churches. This was followed by strong involvement in the compilation in 1968 of a powerful challenge sponsored by the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and supported by most of the English speaking churches, the Message to the People of South Africa. Out of the Message grew the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPROCAS) in which the CI also played a leading role. Between 1971 and 1973 SPROCAS produced seven reports on the situation in South Africa, including one which highlighted apartheidinthe church. This was followed by SPROCAS Two which consisted of the BCP. As this experience unfolded, the CI came to accept that black liberation would never come from white Christians but would have to be the outcome of black initiative. They therefore played a supportive role in the development of black initiative.

There were several of the radical churchmen who were strongly influenced by developments in the USA. One churchman described in an interview, the powerful influence a visit to the USA had had on the growth of his ideas for the church's role in SA. He motivated for the establishment of the Churches Urban Planning Commission (CUPC), on his return. This agency has played an important catalytic role in the growth of community work in Cape Town during the 1970s. He and others[77] were strongly influenced by the works of Alinsky, Illich and Freire. The UCM had apparently played an important part in the popularisation of Freire's work amongst BCM activists:[78]

Freire's ideas excited the students who felt they had suffered from the 'banking' type of education which Freire described and the material offered concrete alternatives. Freire's work was banned in South Africa but before UCM itself was banned in 1972, over 500 copies of Freire's work were made and circulated. Courses which aimed to inform fellow black students of Freire's ideas were run informally at the black universities and some students became involved in compiling community surveys to clarify critical areas for later discussion.

Various leadership training courses were offered by different church groups for youth organisations. For example, the Christian Education Leadership Training (CELT) organisation, the Methodist Christian Leadership Centre, and the CUPC, all ran short courses on community organising and leadership. Democratic leadership, (rather than laissez faire or authoritarian leadership) was stressed.[79] Two of the interviewees recalled the courses that they had attended in the early 1970s, in which there were strong BC feelings. It appears that many black youth and students attended these courses at that time. One other course, the National Youth Leadership Training Programme (NYLTP), was a three month live-in course, which was followed by work within a church. It aimed to create a microcosm of a utopian non-racial community. One interviewee, who went on to establish a radical children's magazine in 1980, spoke about the 'obsession' with participatory democracy on the course. The course had, she felt, had a strong influence on her understanding of 'good' organisational practice, which necessitated a participatorydemocratic structure and approach.

It seems that both the radical Christian groups and the BCM were in general terms, stressing similar values. These are given by Albert Nolan[80] as the values of 'sharing', human dignity' and 'human solidarity' (within BC it would be 'black solidarity'). These values appear to be integral to both liberation and black theology.[81]

In 1973 the CI was declared an 'affected organisation' by the Government. This effectively cut off its overseas funding. Members of the BCM and certain radical Christians, were being harrassed and banned by the government throughout this period. In October 1977 nineteen organisations, mainly those linked to the BCM, and the CI, were banned and Steve Biko died while in detention.

As mentioned earlier, there are different views on the effectiveness of the BCM. There is agreement however on the importance of the BCM in generating a new climate of resistance amongst black people.[82] In terms of the question relating to its contribution to the climate for organisations in the late 1970s, some speculative comments are possible: it stressed humanism and the importance of people; it emphasised 'the oppressed people', as needing to be empowered, and for them to take the decisions in the struggle for freedom; it emphasised the importance of black development, leadership and self-reliance. As a reaction to the BCM, some of the liberal and radical whites both inside and outside the church, were inclined to stress the importance of non-racialism, and positive discrimination in order to counter the ongoing discriminatory practices. Attempts were made, as with the NYLTP live-in training course, to begin to create the 'ideal, hoped for' society. An antagonistic response to the BCM came from the NEUM, who rejected their analysis of the importance of the psychological oppression of blacks. They stressed the importance of a class analysis.[83]

Comment on the churches' contribution to the climate of the late 1970s can also only be speculative. Within the church opportunities for black leadership became more available. Since the late 1960s, black clergy like Manas Buthelezi, Desmond Tutu, and, more recently, Allan Boesak have become important religious and political leaders in black communities. Within the youth organisations, and through the training programmes blacks and whites were exposed to different educational and community work philosophies and approaches. Financial and other resources have enabled organisations to develop. Organisations like CUPC have played an important role in the development of the field of community work and communty organising. Several activists who are still involved in community organising obtained their grounding in the CI and other church organisations. One reaction to the churches which was mentioned by four of the interviewees as having affected their approach to organisations, was the church's hierarchy and bureaucracy. Interviewees mentioned the contradiction between the church's theory and practice, which led to a questioning of the possibilities for the church to play a significant role in changing the Apartheid society.

Rick Turner's book, *The Eye of the Needle: Towards a Participatory Democracy in South Africa*, which was published in 1972, is a matrix of ideological influences at that time. He wrote it as a SPROCAS publication, and it is purported to have had an important influence on the BCM and radical Christians.[84] It is still regarded as an influential work.[85] In a very useful analysis of Turner's work Nash asserts that, 'We can learn from Turner only by attempting to understand the limitations of his work, which were also the limitations of the time in which he worked, and though perhaps in different ways, the limitations of the time in which we live'.[86]

The central philosophical question which Turner addresses is: how is the historical reality of the past to be recognised without denying the creative will of men and women to choose their own future and make that future in accordance with their choice? In attempting to answer this, he is unable to resolve the tension between individual moral commitment and collective political action. His argument for a utopian democratic, socialist state in South Africa is influenced by Existentialism, Marxism, Humanism and Christianity. His argument depends on the Sartrean concept of consciousness, which is: 'Man has no "nature" because the structure of consciousness, a continual project into the future, is such that it can never be bound to anything, and can always doubt any value. It is this structure of consciousness to which we are referring when we say man is free. He transcends the given towards a goal, a value which he constitutes himself.'[87] Nash argues that within the context of South Africa in 1972, its argument required a concept of consciousness which was only contingently historical and thus excluded the possibility of any coherent concept of the historical process that forms our consciousness. It was at the same time, under the same historical conditions, that the BCM was developing.

One of the unresolved contradictions in this work is that between individualism and collectivism, between the importance of working class leadership in the struggle for change, and individual change based on moral commitment. Turner was very active in attempting to encourage the reemergence of worker organisations in Durban at that time.[88] He recognised the importance of the working class. In his book Turner draws on both Existentialism and Marxism, which is reminiscent of Freire's work (which impressed Turner).

For change to occur in South Africa, he argues that there needs to be recognition of the intimate relationship between change in consciousness and organisation. Effective organisation must relate to the way people see the world and it must help them to see it differently. He notes three essential elements in this new way of seeing the world:[89]

> I must come to see the world as able to be changed. I must come to see myself as having the capacity to play a part in changing it. And I must see that my capacity to do this can be realised only in cooperation with other people. To grasp these three facts involves a fundamental shift in psychological attitude towards the world, rather than a simple change of intellectual awareness. Such a shift only occurs once I find myself involved in action.
>
> .... The process of political change through the development of organisational solidarity must itself be a participatory experience if people are to become conscious of the possibilities of freedom.

Having acknowledged the importance of collective action, he turns to a discussion of the problems of whites. He asserts that they have internalised a particular human model, and are victims of the very system that they fight to preserve. He issues a moral appeal to them to see the evil of their ways and to adopt the 'Christian human model' (which as Nash points out, is based on an individualist explanation for resistance to the dominant ideology in capitalist society). Turner also speaks of blacks as being outside of the historical context: he argues that it is possible that they have not internalised the consumer values of the industrial society; that they may be able to build a future based on the communal values of traditional tribal life. He assumes, as Nash notes,[90] that black South Africans have not only a relatively full understanding of the society in which they live, but also of the society in which they would choose to live. Precisely because black South Africans are excluded from the dominant patterns of socialization, they are excluded from the historical process which is identified with that socialization. (This view influenced the BCM at the time but was severely challenged by 1976.)

Turner's book was written in a clear and accessible way, with a directness and a clarity of purpose, which appealed to many activists of the day. Nash points out that it is still one of the few attempts to develop a scenario for a future socialist society for South Africa. Nash argues that the socialist political culture which is emergent today, and which is often fragmented and rudimentary,'is characterised by its reliance on the reality of the past, which has not produced a vision of the future society which might be given clearer form by the struggles to create it.'[91] It is in this area that Turner's work still has relevance today. The central paradoxes in his work have yet to be resolved. They can still be identified within community and worker organisations and in the debates concerning the importance of race or class in the struggles for a socialist future.

THE REEMERGENCE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS WITHIN THE COUNTRY AFTER 1976

The history of the ANC is well documented.[92] The purpose of this section is not to elaborate its history, but to consider its possible effect on community organisations in the late 1970s. Davies, O'Meara and Dlamini[93] in a very recent book, provide a succinct overview of the ANC and its apparent influence today.

The ANC is the leading force in the national liberation struggle in South Africa. Based principally on an alliance of class forces amongst the nationally oppressed, the ANC seeks to forge a broad non-racial movement of all democratic elements pledged to the overthrow of the Apartheid State. Within this alliance it recognises the 'special role' of the working class as the guarantor that the form of national liberation achieved in South Africa is a democratic state in which the wealth and basic resources are 'at the disposal of the people as a whole'.

The ANC was formed in 1912; for almost 50 years it followed a strategy of non-violent resistance. However, in 1961 it adopted the armed struggle as its principal strategic method of struggle. Its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe remains controlled by the political leadership of the organisation, and armed struggle is combined with other forms of mass organisation – both illegal and semi-legal. The last five years have seen a rapid upsurge of ANC activity in South Africa, both at the military and mass levels. The programme of demands of the ANC is contained within the Freedom Charter, adopted in 1956. It basically calls for a democratic state in which the land and wealth of the countryare controlled by the people. The present stage of the South African revolution is defined as 'the national liberation of the largest and most oppressed groups – the African people'.[94] National liberation from colonial oppression is 'bound up with economic emancipation'. Here the 'special role' of the working class is seen as crucial in securing a 'speedy progression from formal liberation to genuine and lasting emancipation'. (The precise nature of ANC policy on for example socialism, private ownership etc. has been and is being hotly debated.)

In the period since 1976, and particularly after 1978, the ANC has combined military actions with mass mobilisation. The military strategy appears to be concentrated on sabotage attacks against strategic economic and military installations.[95] As a complement to the armed struggle, a number of recent semi-legal campaigns have again generated open mass support for the ANC. In recent years, ANC flags have been openly displayed at mass rallies and ANC slogans have been widely used. Perhaps most significant the demands of the ANC programme, the Freedom Charter, have been adopted as a basic blueprint for a future democratic South Africa by a large number of diverse groupings and class forces, ranging from the Black Sash,[96] open trade unions, student organisations, to church bodies. 1985 is the thirtieth anniversary of the drawing up of the Freedom Charter, and several organisations are using this opportunity to make the Charter even more popular, as the 1985 *Grassroots* Calendar testifies. This does not mean that these are ANC controlled bodies, but rather demonstrates the extent to which the basic demands of the ANC have come to crystallise a broad democratic opposition to the Apartheid system. This has also been reflected in the increasing international recognition of the ANC as the leading revolutionary force in South Africa.

The reemergence of the ANC as a leading force in the struggle for change, has been one of the factors which has encouraged people to look back and learn from the struggles of the past. The history of resistance has been rediscovered by activists, and academics. The emphasis that the ANC put on the need for organisation, as opposed to the Pan African Congress which relied more on spontaneity, as part of the process of mass mobilisation, has influenced the approach of some organisations. The participatory approach to the drawing up of the Freedom Charter, and the 'Mandela Plan' for the creation of street committees and cells,[97] are two examples which have been drawn on as 'good' organisational practice within certain organisations.[98] The non-racial approach of the ANC which encourages class alliances, has provided a basis for a strategy adopted by the UDF in the 1980s. (This will be discussed later.) It has given the radical white petty bourgeoisie a place in the struggle against the Apartheid state, which the BCM denies them.

THE COMMUNITY STRUGGLES IN THE LATE 1970s AND EARLY 1980s

Important strands which have been discussed so far as having contributed to the climate of the late 1970s, and which have been developing simultaneously, include the reemergence of the independent trade union movement with new strategies which link workplace and community struggles, the growth of the BCM and radical church groups, and the reemergence of the ANC after 1976, all of which were responses to the 'organic crisis' of the state. In this section emphasis will be given to the struggles in the community as opposed to those at work, although as we have seen in the consumer boycotts, the relationship between the two is complex and dynamic. The sources which are used here are limited. No indepth and systematic study has been made of the various collective activities. Each of the struggles was very complex, and the effects which each may have had on individuals and groups are very difficult to discern. The aim here is to give examples of lessons which seem to have effected the general understanding of community organisation amongst many of the activists.

The most important watershed action came with the revolt of students in 1976. All the particular political groupings of the oppressed were forced to reconsider their strategies.[99] The uprising which began as a protest against Bantu Education, soon became a mass revolt against the Apartheid system. The uprising assumed a national character with similar occurrences in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Natal. The State responded by using its repressive machinery in an attempt to halt these uprisings. At the end of this period, many people lay dead, thousands of students had fled across the borders and had joined the liberation army,[100] leaders were jailed and as we noted earlier, nineteen organisations were banned in 1977.

One of the lessons of 1976 is described by Francis,[101] who states that although the mass nature of the uprisings cannot be doubted, a substantial grass roots infrastructure was absent. As the upheavals of the 1970s grew more violent the lack of effective organisation among the mass of workers and students became increasingly evident. The 'resistance energy' of the masses could only be channelled in the form of isolated skirmishes which were quickly suppressed by the State. Towards the end of the uprisings students tried to become more worker and community orientated.However given the repressive reaction of the State and the disorganisation that existed at that time, such initiatives floundered. Hence, with the demise of popular leaders and the banning of organisations, an organisational vacuum was created leaving little room for the elaboration of structures that would sustain the momentum of active political conflict. The experiences of these uprisings generated a feeling among activists that grassroots structures were needed. There had been criticism of the BCM line of 'conscientisation' and spontaneous uprising. There was a shift towards the need for theoretical understanding rather than blind activism. The student leadership began to link the student struggles with the struggles of the workers, and they recognised their limited role in the struggle for social change. They believed that the workers not the students should be in the lead. Marxism provided the theoretical framework within which activists reflected on their experiences – a critique of BCM was developed. Blacks were no longer seen as a homogeneous group.[102] Social class and not race, many black students realised, was the crucial issue. Amongst radical white students, and some members of the NEUM, who had been using western Marxist critiques unquestioningly in their analysis of South Africa , the revolt of 1976 offered a challenge. Amongst some, the importance of both class and race was acknowledged, and Gramsci's theory became important in their analysis of the State.[103] In line with Gramsci's theory of transition some people saw the need to establish 'proletarian institutions' in the form of worker and community organisations, which could help to develop 'organic intellectuals'of the workingclass.

With the emergence of the ANC in 1977 and 1978, the Freedom Charter encouraged a non-racial stance, and raised the issues of class alliances. BCM elements regrouped within the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) in 1979.[104] At this timeitseems that the State had changed its strategy towards organisations, and AZAPO has been allowed to function in an explicitly political way.[105] One reason for this apparent change could be the recognition by the Government that banning organisations had not lessened the organised opposition to Apartheid policies. The Government has continued harrassment of the leadership of organisations like Azapo, but has not as yet banned the organisations.

State repression throughout the 1976 uprising made activists question the issue of leadership. The leadership was the first to be detained and harrassed, therefore collective leadership, which was less visible and which could rotate, was necessary for the struggle to be able to continue. The level of State repression also taught students about the need for absolute commitment to their political goals, and to accept the possibilities of State action.[106]

In the period from 1977 to 1979 there were no widespread campaigns. Community organisation was low keyed and mainly centred around 'squatter'struggles. There was a growth in the number of community work agencies and community workers.[107] It seems that the emergent field of community work,which we discussed in Part Two, and which had gained a strong impetus from the BCM and the radical church groups, was being explored as a possible strategy within Social Work for the promotion of social change. The works of Alinsky, Illich and Freire, amongst others[108], were being studied both at university Social Work Departments and within the agencies themselves. The CUPC training programmes, which was mentioned earlier, were part of the more radical vanguard within the community work field. Community workers were helping to establish residents associations in various parts of the Cape Flats. For example, in Bishop Lavis the UWC students were working with the Foundation for Social Development (FSD) to promote organisation; SHAWCO workers helped establish the Duinefontein Tenants Association; and in Vrygrond students worked with CAFDA.[109] Their aim was to promote collective action by the communities in their demand for civil rights, very much along the lines of, for example, the CDPs in Britain and Alinsky in the USA.

The community workers from the various agencies also played an important role within the squatter struggles. Squatter settlements have been a permanent part of Cape Town's history. Very little work has been done on the history of squatter settlements in Cape Town, although this is changing. Cole[110] usefully places the development of the squatter camps within the political economy of the Western Cape. The squatter camps which were struggling for survival in the late 1970s were the Modderdam, Werksgenot, Unibel and Crossroads camps, and in the early 1980s, Nyanga Bush, No Name camp, amongst others. Through these struggles a range of lessons was learnt by both the outside agents and the inside activists. Most apparent are those learnt by the outsiders. These have been discussed in ad hoc community publications and in the community newspaper, *Grassroots*. The central concern and criticism seems to relate to the impact of the outsiders on the levels of participation by the members of the community at large, and the related issue of community control. The role of the 'expert' was seriously questioned. Underlying the criticisms seems to be an assumption about the need for participatory democracy, and collective leadership by 'the people' of each camp. The educational value of the struggle for the members of the camps is another underlying assumption. Community workers and other outside people who encourage the community to fight legal battles through the courts, are depriving the community of opportunities to learn through controlling the collective action themselves.[111] It is argued that the members of the community obtain a false sense of the neutrality of the State apparatuses.[112]

By the end of the 1970s, and with the actions of community workers in the Meat boycott, there was a serious reassessment of the role of communitywork amongst radical activists. This critique is well presented in *WIP*[113],and is also presented in the first few editions of *Grassroots*. Arguments were being made for community organisation, as opposed to community work, which is conducted by the people themselves. One of the possible results of the antagonism which developed towards community workers by 1980 is a lack of recognition given to them for their contribution to the growth of the network of community organisations in 1980 by contemporary historians. Manuel[114] for example argues that community organisations only started in 1980, thus ignoring the numerous community organisations which were given impetus by community workers in the 1970s. In 1979 the first national stirring since 1976 was discernible, and it ushered in an intensified period of popular and working class activity. Two strikes in 1979 set the tone for later developments. In April workers at the Fattis and Monis plant in Cape Town went on strike and were dismissed. As discussed earlier, this led to a seven month long nationwide boycott of Fattis and Monis products which ended in the reinstatement of the workers. Shortly afterwords, stevedores on the Cape Town docks won recognition for their union, the GWU, through strike action. The year 1980 witnessed an upsurge in factory-based worker action in various centres. The Fattis and Monis struggle again emphasised the need for more permanent forms of organisation.

1980 saw intensified political activity in the Western Cape. The two most important events were the meat workers strike and the student boycott. Both were played out in the same arena. The student boycott[115] differed somewhat from that of the students in 1976. Whereas the events of the 1976 uprising revolved around the students, in 1980 students actively attempted to gain the support of their parents and of the workers. They realised that while student protest plays an important part in the wider struggle for democratic rights, it is only a constituent part of such a struggle. Hence 1980 saw an acknowledgement of the importance of community and trade union organisations and a greater emphasis on joint action with parents and teachers. Student-parent organisations were formed, and they started to link up with broader political actions in the form of bus boycotts[116], the Free Mandela campaign[117] and community struggles over issues such as rent increases.[118] This time the students' goals were more clearly defined and a protracted boycott was avoided. They, through the mediation of the broader community, saw the boycott as a tactical weapon. One theme that was reiterated throughout the boycott was that the mass struggle was an ongoing process. Thus, after the boycott, students were able to continue the process of struggle within the communities in which they lived.

Before the build up to the boycott, students at most of the coloured schools were unorganised. Within a few days of the beginning of the boycott most students had an SRC which was elected by the student body. Many student leaders stressed the need for democracy within the movement. The boycott was controlled from the outset by a Committee of 61, which later became the Committee of 81. The SRCs each elected two delegates to the Committee. In a document of 14/5/80 the Committee of 81 stated that:[119]

> We as students should decide in our meetings at schools and our representatives must then go to the Committee of 81 meeting and give reasons for us making certain decisions. We must have more MASS DEMOCRACY.

In 1980 the schools were seen as an important site of struggle. The struggle for democratically elected SRCs was seen as part of the struggle for democracy more broadly in the society. These struggles have since been taken up by other organisations such as COSAS.[120] At this time several organisations which concentrated on particular constituencies and particular issues were emerging. These included UWO and the Women's Front on women's issues, CAHAC and the Federation of Cape Civics around housing, and the WCYL and CAYCO to coordinate youth, also AZASO for university students. In addition to organising around immediate demands, they have put forward long term programmatic demands, which have been inspired either by the Freedom Charter, the BCM, or the NEUM Ten Point Programme.

The explicitly 'political' campaigns in this period were the anti-Republic Day, anti-Management Committees and Anti-SAIC actions.[121] In the Anti-SAIC campaign in Cape Town, the reemergence of the traditional political antagonisms between traditional groupings became a feature. This was one of the first signs of the political regrouping which was to occur in 1983, and which will be discussed in the next section.

The local literature which describes and analyses this period of community organisation in the Greater Cape Town area, comprises ad hoc publications, newsletters published by certain specific organisations like the Federation of Cape Civics, CAHAC, or the Western Cape Youth League (WCYL), and Grassroots Community Newsletter. The latter publication is the only one which was established to facilitate communication amongst different organisations, rather than as an internal publication for an organisation. It supports a non-racial as opposed to a BC or NEUM position. In 1982 *Grassroots* had a hundred local community organisations as members.[122] An analysis of the content of *Grassroots* provides important insights into the dominant views on organisational issues amongst this rapidly expanding group of community activists. Most of the articles in *Grassroots* are written by the full-time workers who are active in a range of community organisations, or by leading members within the other organisations. With a circulation of between 15 and 20000 copies per edition, and a distribution network primarily through the community organisations, the impact of the newsletter on the the development of community organisations has been important.

Grassroots has had a very clear message since its inception: UNITE and ORGANISE! The underlying assumptions which appear to underpin the message, are very similar to those stated by Turner, (who was quoted previously), and others concerned with participatory democracy. The questions of leadership, authority, accountability, participation and education are answered in particular ways, which emphasise the participatory character of democracy, although there are exceptions to this dominant view. A few examples will be given to illustrate these observations.

LEADERSHIP, AUTHORITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

The idea of collective leadership has been promoted through the newsletter. One example of this is that the policy has been not 'to build up individuals into leadership positions'.Ideas concerning organisation were considered more important than the individuals behind them.[123] The authority was seen to lie with 'the people' or the members of particular organisations. In an article advising readers how to start an organisation, it states:[124]

> It is important that the community speaks with one voice; that individuals without a mandate do not claim to speak on behalf of the community; that individuals do not make demands except through their organisations.

After the 1982 Annual General Meeting (AGM) *Grassroots* policy was restated as having 'to encourage collective leadership'. Accountability was to the membership of an organisation.

After the formation of UDF in September 1983 some changes can be discerned concerning these issues. The major emphasis has been on more explicitly political campaigns, rather than very parochial questions of local organisation. The leaders of UDF, such as Oscar Mpetha and Rev. Allan Boesak, have been given extensive coverage. The activities of UDF have been widely reported. It seems that people are being encouraged to participate behind the leadership of the UDF rather than around the immediate issues in their communities. The tendency may also be for there to be accountability to the movement rather than to a local organisation, although this is difficult to state with any certainty.

PARTICIPATION AND EDUCATION

Participation seems to have been promoted for several reasons. On one level, people have been encouraged to become involved in the struggle for civil rights. In a number of articles the idea of 'the expert' has been challenged, and the slogan 'we speak for ourselves' has been prominent. On another level participation has been viewed as a strategy to develop members' self-confidence and their leadership ability. The idea that all people should be involved in decision-making and in all the activities because of its educational value, has been promoted. An article 'What is democracy?'[125] states:

> In a Democratic Organisation
> All members are workers and managers. Everyone has a say in planning, organising and controlling what happens. All share in the thinking and the doing. Everyone in the organisation makes the rules. Rules are also changed by calling a meeting of everyone.
> People learn as much as possible about running the whole organisation. People who have special information share it with others. People are helped to get the skills so that they can do the whole job.
> Everyone in the organisation discusses the problems and does the work. In this way people are teaching themselves all the time. They do not need formal certificates.

Information is shared by all members as much as possible. Only with all the information can people make the right decisions. In contrast to this article,and others which have promoted the idea of a collectivist organisation, which is non-hierarchical, and participative, some articles have concentrated on democracy as a formal mechanism which is concerned with representation. These articles on, for example, the drawing up of constitutions, and on meeting procedures,[126] have been of a more legalistic nature. This comparison and contrast is mentioned as an example of the differing, and sometimes competing and contradictory views which are conveyed, and which seem an inevitable part of a project such as *Grassroots*.

The sharing of skills, participation in planning and decision- making, and the importance of evaluation so as to learn from mistakes, have all been stressed in numerous articles. The functioning of *Grassroots* has also emphasised these values. From 1981 to 1983 *Grassroots* actively encouraged participation in the bi-annual assessments through surveys, questionnaires, public meetings and workshops for organisational representatives. The 1984 annual evaluation, however, did not see active participation by many organisations and individuals. Participation in many organisations, including *Grassroots*, had decreased; one reason was that the organisations had been effected by the establishment of UDF.[127] The way that democracy was spoken about within community organisations appeared to be changing with these changing conditions.

The popular, participatory democractic rhetoric of certain organisations, appears to be in stark contrast to the dominant views within, for example, the NEUM tradition. The theory and practice of the NEUM is unknown to the majority of people who are not a part of the affiliated organisations.[128] In two interviews with persons who have had close contact with this tradition, it was said that:

> After the repressive state actions in the early 1960s the NEUM took a decision to operate in a very low-keyed, semi-underground fashion. Although the organisation was not banned, it couldn't afford to operate openly. Democracy which meant broad and open participation was considered a luxury. Experience had taught people that measures for survival had to be adopted. These meant trusting the leadership, and not expecting to be a part of the decision-making. We had to accept that we could not know everything.

There are many people within the new community organsiations who have had experience in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s either within the NEUM or the banned political organisations. While there has been no legal political party for people to belong to, community and worker organisations have had to fulfill many diverse roles. This as Gramsci has pointed out, is inevitable in a repressive society. Community organisations in Cape Town can therefore be expected to hold within them a diverse range of experiences which will present differing views on the theory and practice of democracy within organisations.

THE FORMATION OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT AND CAPE ACTION LEAGUE

The transition from the relative quiet of the 1960s to the industrial and political turmoil of the 1970s put the South African State under mounting pressure. As Francis[129] explains, traditionally the State has absorbed the struggle of the black masses through a two pronged strategy of division and repression. In response to the crisis the State retained these twin elements, albeit in a more refined form of mass disorganisation. Repression has been intensified – for instance, from 1977-1980, 743 people were charged in 216 'terrorism' trials and in June 1980 there were at least 330 people in 'preventative detentions'.[130] Insofar as division is concerned, the cooptive element has become more pronounced. The mass resistance to Apartheid in the 1970s increasingly took on an openly anti-capitalist form. Consequently by 1978 virtually all sections of the organised capitalist class and leaders of the SADF, and 'verligte' elements of the Government were demanding reform. In 1977 Mr. P. W. Botha, then Minister of Defence, announced a programme of a 'total strategy' to meet what he termed 'the total onslaught'. Its fundamental aim was 'a guarantee for the system of free enterprise'. A major initiative of the programme is the attempted creation of a black middle-class, who would obtain a material stake in the system (and then presumably would be prepared to defend it), and which would divide them off from the black masses. Thus, the new State strategy hoped to maintain and strengthen the basic capitalist system, while at the same time strengthen elements which maintain the division amongst the disenfranchised. State initiatives to this end included the development of the Tricameral Parliament to incorporate coloured and Indian people, the 'Koornhof'Bills which were the Black Communities Development Bill, the Black Local Authorities Bill and the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill. The primary aim of these bills is to divide permanent urban residents from other Africans in the urban areas.[131]

In response to the 'New Deal' of the Government, several organisations began to meet to discuss possible actions. The first to meet in Cape Town was the Federation of Cape Civics[132] in June 1982, then in September the Women's Front held a meeting and this led to he calling of a general meeting of all community and worker organisations to consider joint action to oppose the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill. This was the start of what became known as the Disorderly Bill Action Committee (DBAC). It included members from organisations within the NEUM, and from BC and non-racial tendencies. It was not long before this committee ran into problems because of their political differences. For example, a key issue became the presence of the white student organisation, NUSAS. There were also personal antagonisms, and inefficiencies which led to problems in the committee.[133]

At about this time ideas were being mooted for a national campaign, and a meeting was called to this end in Johannesburg in January 1983. At this meeting Rev Allan Boesak called for a united democratic front to fight the Government's initiatives. Certain organisations in Cape Town responded positively to this call. They were primarily those who adopted the Freedom Charter. They withdrew from the DBAC. Others remained in the weakened

DBAC and later formalised themselves into the Cape Action League. They were to align themselves with the National Forum which met in mid-1983 and which attracted organisations with BC tendencies and those who followed a more explicitly socialist line.[134]

The formation of the UDF was discussed extensively in the local organisations.[135] These discussions crystallised into a conference on the 12 May 1983, which was attended by some of the organisations now a part of UDF and all the major unions. The discussions were inconclusive and a second round of discussions were held on 21 July 1983 without the unions. (Some of the reasons for trade union withdrawal have been noted previously). At this meeting it was decided to form the Cape Democratic Front. This later became a regional branch of the national UDF which was launched in Cape Town on the 26 September 1983. At this time in Cape Town the atmosphere was politically charged, as activists on all sides of the political spectrum, debated the pros and cons of a popular front, and their membership of it. The formation of UDF and CAL has delineated the political groupings more clearly, and for the first time since the early 1960s, more explicitly political structures have developed to which community and worker organisations need to relate. This has made an impact on community organisations in Cape Town, particularly with regard to the question of accountability. This will be examined more closely through the case studies.

NOTES TO PART FOUR

Chapter Nine

1. See Part Two for typologies of voluntary associations
2. The chart is taken from F. Lund and E. L. van Harte 1980 COMMUNITY WORK FOR DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE Cape Town: Institute for Social Development
3. Registration under the Fundraising Act is only necessary if the organisation collects money from the public.
4. Dr. O. D. Wollheim 1978 ORGANISATIONS Cape Town: Centre for Intergroup Studies
5. See Southern African Catholic Bishop's Conference 'Pastoral Planning Working Paper' June 1984, for a useful summary of the important Acts.
6. Some of the studies which are available, but which did not deal with the breadth of voluntary associations which is necessary for this study, are: S. van der Horst 'Systems of Public Assistance in the Cape Peninsula' M. A. Thesis U.C.T. 1931; M. Wilson and A. Mafeje 1963 LANGA Cape Town: OUP; H. W. van der Merwe et al 1980 TOWARDS AN OPEN SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE ROLE OF VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS Cape Town: David Philip; M. E. Dludla 'A socio-cultural community survey of the township Nyanga' M. Soc. Sc. Thesis U.C.T. 1983; E. Horn 'A survey of community social agencies in greater Cape Town' M. Soc. Sc Thesis UCT 1983. There are certain directories available which were useful: SPROCAS Directory 1974 gives lists of Black Consciousness organisations, Human Awareness Project has a directory 1983 of a range of organisations, but it is far from comprehensive; SALDRU published a directory on rural organisations in 1984, the author was B. Streek; Lifeline 1984 directory provides detailed lists of local self-help organisations, and service agencies which are predominantly in white areas. The directories are of limited use as they cover very different ground from one another which makes any comparisons impossible.
7. D. Webster 'Nature of the crisis in South Africa' in BEYOND REFORM: THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE Cape Town: NUSAS
8. Dludla *op. cit.* No. 6. He does not elaborate on the voluntary associations which people belong to - over 87% of his respondents belonged to some voluntary associations.
9. P. Molefe 'Responses to State Strategy' in NUSAS 1983 *op. cit.*
10. Taken from I. Goldin 'The poverty of Coloured Labour Preference: Economics and ideology in the Western Cape' SALDRU Working Paper No. 59 Cape Town
11. This point is made by Labour Research Committee 1983 THE LOCAL STATE CAPE TOWN: A CASE STUDY Cape Town: LRC

12. Examples of the effects of the Group Areas are given in D. Pinnocks' works: 1980 ELSIES RIVER Cape Town: UCT Institute of Criminology; 1984 THE BROTHERHOODS: STREET GANGS AND STATE CONTROL IN CAPE TOWN Cape Town: David Philip; also in United Women's Organisation 1983 CLAREMONT: A PEOPLE'S HISTORY Cape Town: UWO

13. Goldin *op. cit.* In 1985 the Government repealed this Act.

14. The Eiselin Line extended almost due north from a point on the coast, just west of Port Elizabeth to the Orange Free State border near Colesburg.

15. For example, D. Horner ed. LABOUR PREFERENCE, INFLUX CONTROL AND SQUATTERS: CAPE TOWN ENTERING THE 1980s' SALDRU Working Paper No. 50 Cape Town; J. Cole 'When your life is bitter you do something: Women and squatting in the Western Cape tracing the origins of Crossroads and the role of women in its struggle' Long Paper in Dept. of Economic History UCT Sept. 84 NYANGA BUSH FIGHTING FOR OUR RIGHTS, no date, no author.

16. Social mobility is discussed by W. Beinart 'Recent occupational mobility of coloured people in Cape Town' in H. W. van der Merwe and C. J. Groenewald ed. 1976 OCCUPATIONAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG COLOURED PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA Cape Town: Jutas; and by Goldin *op. cit.*

17s. Goldin p. 43 *op. cit.*

18. M. Simons 'Organised coloured political movements' in VAN DER MERWE AND GROENEWALD *op. cit.* discusses the NEUM ; also R. Gentle 'The NEUM in perspective' 1978 B. Soc. Sc. Hons. Thesis UCT, he argues that the NEUM is not Trotskyist.

19. T. Karon 'Vryheid nie op 'n skinkbord nie: The Coloured People's Congress and National Democratic Struggle in the Western Cape 1951-1962' 1983 B. A. Hons. Thesis Economic History UCT - He discusses the mass mobilization of people in Cape Town in the'50s

20. The ANC and the Freedom Charter will be discussed more fully in a later section.

21. Simons p. 229 *op. cit.*

22. T. Lodge 1983 BLACK POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1945 Johannesburg: Ravan Press, discusses the ANC and the PAC in Cape Town. G. Gerhart 1978 BLACK POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE EVOLUTION OF AN IDEOLOGY USA: University of California Press, also deals with the history of the PAC extensively.

23. See W. Hofmeyer 'Rural popular resistance and its problems: struggles in the Western Cape 1929-1930' in AFRICA PERSPECTIVE No. 22 1983

24. This point was made by an ex-member of the South Peninsula Education Fellowship(SPEF), an NEUM linked organisation, in an interview on 25/1/85

Chapter Ten

25. Lund and van Harte *op. cit.* A very recent study by M. Matiwana and S. Walters 1986 THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY: A STUDY OF COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN GREATER CAPE TOWN FROM THE 1960's TO 1985 CACE: University of the Western Cape, which is a by product of this research project, gives the most comprehensive picture of these organisations to date. See Appendix Three

26. D. O'Meara 'Muldergate and the politics of Afrikaner nationalism' in WORK IN PROGRESS No. 22 1982; L. Chisholm 'Redefining Skills: Black Education in South Africa in the 1980s' in P. Kallaway 1984 APARTHEID AND EDUCATION. THE EDUCATION OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS Johannesburg: Ravan Press

27. Lodge p. 328 *op. cit.*

28. The Extension of University Education Act of 1959 led to a sudden expansion of student numbers with the establishment of two new African University Colleges, one for Indians and one for coloureds. C. Bundy 'Street Sociology and Pavement Politics: Some Aspects of the 1985 School Crisis in the Western Cape' Paper delivered at the Centre for African Studies Conference 16-18 July 1986 at UCT, gives the figures for university student numbers at black campuses as 1960: 1,871, 1984: 36604.

29. The BCM is discussed by Gerhart *op. cit.* and B. Hirson 1979 YEAR OF FIRE YEAR OF ASH. THE SOWETO REVOLT: ROOTS OF A REVOLUTION Britain: Zed Press. The growth in cultural organisations, which was largely as a result of the BCM, can be seen in Appendix Three.

30. See *South African Outlook* Jan. 1974

31. Analyses of the Soweto revolt have differed according to the ideological premises of the writers. For example, J. Kane- Berman 1978 SOWETO: BLACK REVOLT, WHITE REACTION Johannesburg: Ravan Press, saw the most important factors being the influence of BC ideology and the crisis of rising expectations. On the other hand Hirson's argument plays down the importance of BCM as instigator, and he places at the centre of the historical stage the reassertion of African working class militancy which instilled a new feeling of self-confidence in the urban community. Undoubtedly the occurrences both inside and outside the country which contributed to the events which began on the 16 June 1976 included the development of the BCM, the reemergence of working class militancy, the effects of political arrests, detentions and trials in 1974 and 1975, the liberation of Mozambique and Angola on the borders of SA, and the conditions in the schools.

32. Lodge p. 339 *op. cit.*

33. Hirson p. 328 *op. cit.*

34. O'Meara p. 5 *op. cit.* The Gramscian concept of an 'organic crisis' has been usefully applied to contemporary South Africa by Saul and Gelb see Note 39.
35. The usual sources of funding for community organisations were via church organisations, like the SACC, overseas foundations either linked to governments, churches or corporations, or local business enterprise. There was deep suspicion of the Urban Foundation which related both to its origins and its modus operandi. The UF was born out of 1976 revolt on the one hand, and on the other it seemed to want as much 'mileage' as possible for its sponsorship. Organisations not dependent on this source of funding were very critical of those who were. The divisions and hostility the UF engendered appears to be peculiar to the greater Cape Town area, and it requires careful study if we are to understand the responses from organisations at that time more clearly.
36. South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) Survey 1978 p. 480
37. In a talk by T. Manuel at UCT on 'Community Organisation' on 28/9/82, it was suggested that activists who were detained, used the time in detention to discuss and reflect of their previous strategies. Murpheson Morobe in 'Situating the educational struggle' in NUSAS 1983 *op. cit.* mentions the experience of students jailed for seven years on Robben Island, who returned with different perpectives on strategy.
38. For example, M. Legassick 'South African capital accumulation and violence' in ECONOMY AND SOCIETY August 1974, and H. Wolpe 'Capitalism and cheap labour power in South Africa' in ECONOMY AND SOCIETY vol. 1 no. 4 1972.
39. For example, J. S. Saul and S. Gelb 1981 THE CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA: CLASS DEFENCE AND CLASS REVOLUTION New York: Monthly Review Press
40. There is ongoing debate around these issues; the establishment of the UDF,the National Forum and the Cape Action League demonstrates the deep divisions amongst the left around these questions.
41. There is no written history of the UCT Women's Movement; in an interview with an ex-member, she stated that a visit to the campus in 1975 by a leading North American feminist, Juliet Mitchell, had given the movement an important impetus; and the members read the feminist writers like S. Rowbotham 1974 WOMEN, RESISTANCE AND REVOLUTION USA: Penguin.

Chapter Eleven

42. For example material already mentioned, plus local community and student newspapers like GRASSROOTS, and SASPU NATIONAL and SASPU FOCUS; also UDF and CAL newsletters and other more ad hoc publications.
43. The word 'activist' is used to describe a person actively involved in worker and/or community organisations. The 12 activists have been interviewed during

the last part of 1984 and in early 1985. Six of the interviewees had had links with the churches during the 1970s this included the Catholic, the Moravian, the Methodist and Anglican churches, with one working for the Christian Institute, and another attending the NYLTP course. The classification of the interviewees was as follows: 5 coloured, 5 white and 2 African. Three had had previous links with the NEUM, 3 had had strong links with the BCM and at present 8 would align themselves with the UDF, and 3 with CAL/BC, while 1 is no longer involved in political organisation.

44. The background to (A)FCWU is given in WORK IN PROGRESS no. 22 1982, while the history of GWU is given in a paper by J. Mare 'Democracy and Oligarchy in the Independent Trade Unions in the Transvaal and the WPGWU in the 1970s' in SOCIAL DYNAMICS 1982
45. D. Lewis 'Trade Unions and Class Stratification: A preliminary analysis of the role of working class organisations in the Western Cape' in H. W. van der Merwe 1976 *op. cit.*
46. For example in WIP, SOCIAL REVIEW, SASPU FOCUS, SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR BULLETIN, and GRASSROOTS
47. D. Hemson 'Trade unionism and the struggle for liberation in South Africa' in CAPITAL AND CLASS 1978
48. For example, SASPU FOCUS vol. 2 no. 1 June 1983 'In a class of their own' p. 18 ; WIP no. 12 April 1980 'Consumer boycotts: an assessment'.
49. For example, WIP no. 25 1983 'Stayaways: mass strike or demonstration?'; WIP no. 26 1983 'Stayaways: Soweto 1976'; WIP NO. 19 1981 'The support alliance: trade unions and community'.
50. WIP no. 30 1984 'Lekota on the UDF'; WIP no. 32 'Unions and the UDF'; WIP no. 33 1984 'MAWU and UMMAWUSA fight for factories'; 'FOSATU will not join the UDF' CAPE TIMES 20/10/83.
51. This is described by Liz McGregor 'The Fattis and Monis strike' in SALB March 1980
52. This is discussed in WIP no. 13, also in SALB vol. 6 no. 5, and GRASSROOTS Oct. 1980
53. *Ibid.*
54. SALB *ibid.*
55. GRASSROOTS *op. cit.*
56. Interview with Rev. Des Adendorf, the director of two of the organisations involved (15/8/84).
57. This is discussed in Maree *op. cit.*; NUSAS 1980 THE UNION IS STRENGTH: THE RESURGENCE OF BLACK TRADE UNIONISM IN THE 1970s Cape Town: NUSAS; SASPU NATIONAL no. 9 Dec. 1981, and no. 7 Sept. 1981

also in R. Davies, D. O'Meara and S. Dlamini 1984 THE STRUGGLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA VOL. TWO London: ZED Press.

58. Lodge *op. cit.*
59. For example in WIP no. 29, an interview with Dave Lewis.
60. *Ibid.*, also see WIP no. 34 1984 'Debating alliance politics'.
61. See P. Walshe 1983 CHURCH VERSUS STATE IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE CASE OF THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE London: C. Hurst and Co.
62. *Ibid.*
63. The seven interviewees were involved in various church organisations during the 1970s.
64. *Op. cit.* No. 22
65. Lodge *op. cit.*, see note no. 35
66. Hirson p. 84 *op. cit.*
67. C. Couve 'The psychologist and black consciousness in South Africa: The work of N. C. Manganyi' a Centre for African Studies Seminar Paper UCT 5 Sept. 1984
68. It is not proposed that there is any direct link between the past Africanist formulations and the BC. Lodge *op. cit.* has shown the misleading nature of attempts to force the link between BC and its precursors.
69. Gerhart *op. cit.*
70. Mary Simons reminded me of this fact.
71. S. Biko 1978 I WRITE WHAT I LIKE London: Heinemann
72. B. Pityana 'Power and social change in South Africa' in H. W. van der Merwe and David Welsh ed. 1972 STUDENT PERSPECTIVES ON SOUTH AFRICA Cape Town: David Philip
73. Couve p. 9 *op. cit.*
74. R. Turner 1980 THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE: TOWARDS PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA Johannesburg: Ravan Press
75. Biko p. 28 *op. cit.*
76. See SPROCAS Directories 1974
77. David Poyntan, an Anglican Education Officer went to Illich's centre at Cuernavaca, Mexico; Anne Hope, a church worker spent time with Paulo Freire. Both were influential in spreading these ideas. Tony Morphet gave me this information.
78. A. Bird 'The adult night school movements for blacks on the Witwatersrand 1920-1980' in KALLAWAY *op. cit.*
79. Interview *op. cit.* No. 56

80. A. Nolan 1982 BIBLICAL SPIRITUALITY Springs, SA: Order of Preachers (Southern Africa)
81. See for example articles in SOUTH AFRICAN OUTLOOK Vol. 110 Sept. 1980, by Nolan, Goba and Boesak.
82. In a study in Soweto by P. Frankel 'Status, group consciousness and political participation:Black consciousness in Soweto', presented to the History Workshop, University of Witwatersrand, on 3-7 February 1978, it was found that a high percentage of respondents had been influenced by BC.
83. See M. Poswa '3 Black Consciousness: A reactionary tendency' Jan. 1982 printed by THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL. One of the interviewees who was actively involved in SPEF at the time mentioned that this document seemed to reflect the general NEUM feelings concerning the BCM.
84. The influence of Turner's work on the BCM is discussed by T. Morphet in the introduction to Turner's book. Turner's influence was also mentioned in an interview with a former CI worker on 13/12/84. The interviewee, Jim Cochrane, believed that the impact of Turner's work on those in the CI had been significant.
85. A. Nash 'History and Consciousness in South Africa today: An essay on the political thought of Richard Turner' An unpublished working paper 1984. He argues that Turner's work is still influential today.
86. *Ibid.*
87. T. Morphet in the introduction to Turner *op. cit.*
88. Turner helped to establish the Institute for Industrial Education and the South African Labour Bulletin, see SALB vol. 9 no. 8 July 1984
89. Turner *op. cit.* p. 87
90. Nash *op. cit.* p. 19
91. *Ibid.* p. 12
92. See Lodge *op. cit.*
93. See Davies, O'Meara and Dlamini *op. cit.*
94. *Ibid.* p. 284
95. Oliver Tambo in an interview in June 1982, said that a new phase would permit 'more direct confrontation with the enemy forces', *ibid..* p. 284
96. Black Sash is a protest organisation of white, middle class women, which was started in the 1950s. A history of the organisation has been written by C. Michelman 1975 THE BLACK SASH OF SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE STUDY IN LIBERALISM Publ. for the SAIRR by the OUP
97. The Mandela Plan is explained in Lodge *op. cit.*, and concerns the formation of tight organisational structures on the street and neighbourhood levels.

98. Discussions of the Freedom Charter and it genesis have been held in several community organisations, and in *Grassroots* Jan. 1985, the story is retold. Lodge *op. cit.* questions just how much participation their actually was in the final drafting of the document.
99. Interview with an ex-NEUM affiliate member (29/1/85)
100. Lodge *op. cit.* gives the numbers of students who crossed the borders to join the liberation army as in the thousands p. 339
101. M. Francis 'The past is theirs, the future is ours - A study of the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape' A paper presented for B. A. Hons. at UWC Nov. 1984
102. Montsitsi in NUSAS 1983 *op. cit.* makes this point.
103. See Bloch, Webster and van den Heerden in NUSAS 1983 *op. cit.*
104. AZAPO was formed in 1979: it was an important contributor to the National Forum in June 1983, see NATIONAL FORUM 1983; a discussion of a recent AZAPO conference is in WIP no. 30 1984.
105. This point is made by Paahla in NUSAS 1983 *op. cit.*
106. Montsitsi makes this point in NUSAS 1983 *op. cit.*
107. In a discussion with a lecturer in the Dept. of Social Work at UWC, it was stated that the numbers of trained, coloured, social workers increased dramatically during the 1970s.
108. References to international literature were given in Part 2
109. The work of community workers is described in FSD Annual Reports from 1977; also in E. van Harte 1977 THE INVOLVEMENT OF UWC STUDENTS IN COMMUNITY WORK Bellville: Institute for Social Development.
110. Cole *op. cit.* No. 15
111. This argument is put in an article in WIP no. 18 June 1981, 'Legalism and democratic organisation'.
112. A critique was done of outsiders involvement in squatter struggles in NYANGA BUSH *op. cit.*
113. See WIP no. 11 1980 and WIP no. 15.
114. Manuel *op. cit.* No. 37
115. See D. F. Molteno's study 'The schooling of black South Africans and the 1980 Cape Town students' boycott: a sociological interpretation' April 1983 M. Soc. Sc. Thesis UCT
116. See R. Roberts 'Bus boycotts 1980' in A. P. Hare 1983 THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA Cape Town: Centre for Intergroup Studies.
117. See SASPU NATIONAL
118. See for example SASPU, STATE OF THE NATION Aug. 1982 p. 12

119. Molteno *op. cit.* p. 199
120. COSAS history is given in GRASSROOTS June 1982. The organisation was banned by the state in 1985.
121. This is discussed in SOCIAL REVIEW Issue 16 Nov. 1981
122. GRASSROOTS AGM 1982
123. GRASSROOTS April 1982 p. 14
124. *Ibid.* p. 11
125. GRASSROOTS June 1983 p. 13
126. GRASSROOTS Oct. and Nov. 1981
127. This point was discussion at GRASSROOTS AGM in 1984, and in several other organisations at the time.
128. B. Kinkead-Weekes 'A history of local resistance to Apartheid in the period 1948-1960' presented at a workshop convened by the Centre for African Studies and the Centre for Research in Africa at UWC, makes this point.
129. Francis *op. cit.*
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Ibid.*
132. Cape Federation of Cape Civics pamphlet May 1983
133. Francis *op. cit.*; also confirmed in interviews with two people who participated in the DBAC at one stage the secretary lost the minutes, there was also on occasion a lack of clarity as to who was to chair the meetings.
134. See SOLIDARITY the CAL newsletter, and NATIONAL FORUM 1983
135. As a member of UWO Claremont Branch I was involved over several months in discussions within the organisation.

PART FIVE

CASE STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

The three case studies are all service and resource agencies which were established in Cape Town in the late 1970s. Each of the cases has both instrumental and expressive goals, which as we discussed in Part Two, implies a concern with both 'content and process' within the organisation.

The presentation of the empirical data from the three case studies will occur in Part Five. Detailed analysis and discussion of the data will be given in Part Six.

The research approach and procedures for the collection of the empirical data were described inthe Introduction to the dissertation. Details pertaining to the particular research relationship with each agency will be briefly given at the beginning of each case study.

The data were gathered and categorised initially according to the checklist (see Appendix One) which was grounded in the participatory research experiences with the first case, Zakhe. In summary the six categories which provided a framework for the collection of the data were:

- Background and History
- Organisational structures, goals and strategies
- Education, training and development of members
- Internal processes and procedures
- Relationships with other organisations
- Problems and constraints which affect the organisation's functioning

The presentation of the case studies will follow a set format. This format is influenced by both the categories which have emerged through the research process and the conceptual 'tools' which have been identified in the literature reviews. It will be as follows:

1. RESEARCH PROCESS
2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MACRO AND MICRO ORGANISATIONAL CONTEXTS – this will include the origins of the organisation, a description of the membership, and an account of the changes in the structures, goals and strategies. It will also follow the changes to the theory and practice of 'democracy' within the organisation during its lifespan.

3. INTERNAL PROCESSES: SHARING RESPONSIBILITY – this will include participation in planning and evaluation, sharing information and skills, education, training and development of members, and relationships with other organisations (this will highlight the question of internal and external accountability).
4. WHAT HELPS OR HINDERS THE SHARING OF RESPONSIBILITY? This section will highlight particular tensions within the cases. The analytical tools, which were presented graphically in Chapter Eight, and which consist of: the relationship between the macro and micro organisational context; participatory democratic practices; and the integrated processes of action, critical reflection and theoretical knowledge, will be used to probe the data.

Chapter Twelve

CASE STUDY ONE: ZAKHE RESOURCES FOR COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT

Research process

The data for the investigation of Zakhe[1] was gathered in a number of ways. The participatory research relationship was mentioned briefly in the Introduction to the dissertation, as were the other research procedures. While the case study is informed primarily by the intense contact over the two and a half year period, I have been associated with the organisation since its inception, and served on one of its first Executive Committees. This relationship will inevitably also inform the study. The specific research procedures included:

- The formalising of the research relationship through the formation in June 1982 of the 'democratic processes group' consisting of the members of Zakhe and myself (I will refer to this group as the 'Participatory Research Group or PR group');
- studying primary documents from the establishment of Zakhe in 1978 to 1984;
- indepth, individual interviews with all present staff, first in September 1982 and again in September 1984; interviews with two of the key initiators of the project;
- intensive periods of participant observation in September 1982 and in January 1984;
- regular informal weekly meetings with staff from June 1982 until May 1983;

- monthly meetings of the PR group, where there were discussions on current community organisational issues;
- informal, periodic contact.

In Part One of the dissertation I pointed to similarities between the tensions and contradictions[2] experienced within the Participatory Research Approach and within the case studies themselves. While the PRA process has not been a focus for the investigation itself, examples of the tensions within the 'PR group' will be mentioned briefly in order to illustrate what is meant. The issues raised here will be discussed in the case study itself and in Part Six.

The PR group went through several phases during its two and a half year history.[3] The first phase covered the first six months, during which time the group worked intensively together. Monthly seminars were held, starting with a discussion on social research and moving on to discussions of contemporary organisational issues. During this time three of the six members of the group were actively involved in the DBAC. (This was described in Part Four.) The monthly meetings provided a place for critical reflection on involvement in the DBAC. During the first phase data was collected and analysed for the Zakhe case study. Weekly informal information sharing meetings were also held.

The second phase began in January 1983 with the reconstitution of the PR group after the summer holidays. At this stage one of the members had become very involved in the KTC squatter struggle, and other community campaigns were underway. Zakhe members therefore decided that all of them could not afford the time to be involved in the PR group – two of their members would represent them. One other person from outside the organisation joined the group. A decision was taken to concentrate on short term projects in order to give a more practical focus to the group. At this stage the theoretical and reflective work of the group lessened. Theory was discussed, if at all, in the context of practical tasks, such as during the writing of two articles for the *Grassroots Newsletter*, and organising a workshop on 'Self-Management in Community Agencies'. It was during this time that the establishment of the UDF was being mooted, and the DBAC was being reconstituted as CAL. 'Democracy' was being debated vigorously in relation to 'the national question'.[4]

The PR group decided to use the word 'self-management' rather than 'democracy' for the workshop as we were conscious that the workshop might be misconstrued by some activists in the heightened political climate. We felt we could legitimately run a workshop concerned with internal organisational practices, but not concerned with 'the national question'. Within and amongst the progressive[5] community and worker organisations at that time there were various behavioural norms which were contested and negotiated continuously. One of these which was considered important at the time, was the need to obtain a mandate from 'relevant' organisations and individuals before undertaking a project.[6] The PR group went through several processes in order to obtain an adequate mandate to run the workshop. These included amongst others: letters and proposals to the agencies; individual interviews with members of agencies; consultation meetings with representatives of interested agencies to discuss the proposed content of the workshop; and the circularisation of minutes of consultation meetings.

The PR group was very conscious in the planning of the workshop of the polarisations which was occuring between groups and individuals on the broad left as a result of the formation of UDF and CAL. We were all at that time members of organisations which were tending to align themselves with UDF. The agencies which were approached for the workshop were those with UDF leanings, or who at least were not antagonistic to the UDF position.

During this phase of the PR group's work the tensions which Perlman (see Chapter Four) identified between participatory democracy and action, and between theory and practice, were experienced. The distribution of responsibility for the organisation of the workshop was unequal. I found myself coordinating the arrangements. Possible reasons for this were: that the national launching of the UDF was being coordinated from Zakhe offices; one of the members, which we did not realise at the time, had become a member of CAL and was therefore winding down his involvement in the group; and I was the only member of the group working full-time on the PR project, which included the workshop.

I was very conscious during this phase of strict accountability to the PR group. I was particularly sensitive of my role as white academic at this time because it had been the role of the white student organisation, NUSAS, which had been a key issue in the rifts which had developed in the DBAC. On the day of the workshop everyone in the PR group and all the Zakhe members were involved in the running of the programme for fifty-three representatives from fifteen agencies.

At the workshop a decision was taken to record the proceedings of the day. Volunteers were invited to join the PR group. Three additional people joined, one former member who had become a member of CAL left, and this marked the third phase in the life of the PR group.

The most important development during this phase of the group from the perspective of the research project, was the growing awareness of the political diversity which existed amongst the members of the group. There had been a naive tendency within the group to assume that a commitment to participatory democratic practices within organisaitons was a sufficiently strong common bond to unite the group. Thus members tended to believe incorrectly, as did the community educators discussed in Chapter Five, that certain organisational forms 'belonged' to progressive political groupings.

The PR group in its third phase consisted of two tendencies, those who emphasised the importance of participatory democracy because of the 'personal freedom' it guaranteed for members of organisations, and others who tended to stress the collectivist imperative imbedded within participatory democracy. The latter group emphasised the importance of both internal accountability and external accountability to the progressive political movements. The members of the PR group who were more concerned with collectivism than individualism, stayed together as a group until early 1985. The other members in time withdrew.

IN SUMMARY

The PR process has highlighted key tensions which will be explored more thoroughly through the cases and in the discussion in Part Six. They are the tensions between: participatory democracy and action; theory and practice; collectivism and individualism; and internal and external accountability. Similar tensions were also identified in the discussions in Part Three of Illich, Freire and Gramsci's work.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MACRO AND MICRO CONTEXTS

In order to explore the relationship between the macro and micro contexts, the history of the Zakhe will be given, the members will be described, and the changing goals, structures and strategies from Zakhe's inception will be analysed. In analysing the changing goals, structures and strategies, I anticipate that the ongoing developments concerning the theory and practice of democracy in the organisations will also be identified.

Origins

Zakhe is a small, private community resource and service agency which operates from its offices in Hanover Park, a sub-economic coloured township. It was initiated in June 1978 by four local community work agencies, the Churches Urban Planning Committee (CUPC), Caminploy, the Cape Flats

Committee for Interim Accommodation (CFCIA)[7] and the Foundation for Social Development (FSD) after a general meeting called to discuss unemployment and possible responses to it. The aim was to establish an organisation to promote the development of self-help production groups through the provision of education and other services. Various motivations and interests are discernible amongst the group of people who formed the first Executive Committee.

All the committee members were involved in forms of community work and were employed by community work agencies. Three of the four agencies were sponsored by the Church and worked under the Western Province Council of Churches (WPCC), which is affiliated to the South African Council of Churches (SACC). The fourth agency, FSD, was sponsored by the Chairman's Fund of Anglo- American Corporation (AAC). The interests of the members in self-help production groups possibly can be traced to the involvement of three members in the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), to the concern of the SACC in unemployment, and to involvement by local community workers in the squatter struggles.

The formation of Zakhe occurred about 9 months after most of the BCM projects had been banned in October 1977. The BCM, at the Black People's Convention (BPC) launched in 1972, had committed itself to the establishment and promotion of black business on a cooperative basis. This included the establishment of banks, cooperative buying and selling and the flotation of certain companies. All of these were to be designed as agencies for self-reliance for black people.[8] In addition, as part of the Black Community Programmes (BCP), self-help schemes were launched to promote 'means of economic existence' by the establishment of home industries. The aim of the home industries was stated as:[9]

> not only to provide gainful employment to destitute people, but also to train people – mastering certain basic production skills and also management skills. It is also hoped that through this form of living example many people will be encouraged to exploit their natural resources where opportunities for work are hard to come by.

The BC members of the Committee apparently saw the establishment of Zakhe as an opportunity to continue aspects of the work of the BCM.[10]

The SACC at that time began to focus their attention on the escalating numbers of unemployed. They attempted to formulate a response to the question of unemployment.[11] In Cape Town, Caminploy was established under WPCC auspices as an employment agency to focus particularly on providing a service to the unskilled and semi-skilled workers. However, because of the scarcity of employment, in addition to placing workseekers in employment, it aimed to try and create work by encouraging clients who came to the office to form self-help production groups. Caminploy members, therefore saw the establishment of Zakhe as a means of assisting this process.

At FSD at that time, several of the community workers were working in the squatter communities of Unibel and Werksgenot.[12] As part of this involvement they were encouraging the establishment of production groups which could provide an opportunity for the learning of skills. A crafts centre was established at Unibel from where volunteer skills trainers worked. Out of this work ideas developed for a 'materials depot' which could service a range of self-help production groups. The idea also grew for using self-help production groups as an 'entry point' for educational work which included skills training and political consciousness raising.[13]

At that time, there was a convergence of interests in the promotion of self-help production groups. They were seen as: a means for the development of skills and self-confidence amongst blacks; a means for people to survive economically; a means of raising the levels of critical, political consciousness amongst participants; or a combination of all three. All the members of Zakhe who came out of either the BCM, the radical Christian, or community work traditions, were acutely aware of the need to develop black leadership skills. There were different opinions, though, on how this should be done. As can be anticipated, all three traditions influenced theory and practice within Zakhe. Tensions between those who espoused the BC position and those who supported non-racialism ran through the organisation for the first four years. (This point will be taken up again later.) From the outset there was a strong push to make it a 'black organisation' (*Minutes* 5/6/78).

Membership

The initial committee of volunteers comprised seven community workers. Of these one was a white, minister of religion who was director of two of the participating agencies, and who had been very involved in the radical Christian movement of the late 1960s. He had played an important role in stimulating the growth of community work in Cape Town. The others were much younger, in their twenties. Two were coloured, (one of whom was a co-director of FSD); three were African community workers; and one, who became the first coordinator of Zakhe, was a white woman. All the members, except the first temporary coordinator, had been influenced by the BCM. In 1978 and 1979 they were all involved in community work in one form or another.

In the first eighteen months of its existence, Zakhe employed part-time people who were prepared to work for very low salaries because of very limited funding. During 1979 two white women, who were in a position to work for little pay, were employed to assist the coordinator on a part-time, short term basis. In the initial stages the contradiction between the goal of training blacks within a 'black organisation' and the harsh reality of only being able to appoint whites who would work for very little pay added to the tension between certain black and white staff.[15]

It was only in 1980 that longer term financing was secured which enabled Zakhe to employ a full time secretary/bookeeper and a fieldworker. The fieldworker, Bill,[16] who is a coloured male, is still employed in Zakhe. He is a trained artisan who comes from a working class home. He had been very involved in the Moravian Church youth activities and was influenced by the BCM during the early 1970s. He had attended Christian leadership courses run by the Moravian and Methodist churches during this time. In 1979 he had chaired the Fattis and Monis Boycott Committee. During 1980 a white male student, Dave, from the University of Cape Town (UCT) also joined the staff in a part- time voluntary capacity. He worked for Zakhe until early in 1984. He described himself as 'a radicalised hippie' who was influenced in the 1970s by the New Left in the USA. He was involved in ecological issues through student organisations, which were concerned with rural development and intermediate technology.

The white Zakhe staff at this time all came from middle to upper middle class homes. All had university education and were influenced by the New Left in the USA and Western Europe. The dominant ethos within the organisation reflected the radical humanism of the New Left, which was described in Part Two, and which tended to emphasise the importance of 'the people' as 'actors in the world'.

During 1981, Zakhe ran a course for 'Co-op Initiators'. Three participants from this course joined the staff in 1982. Two were African women, Nomhle and Sindi, and one was a coloured male, Alan. At the same time a coloured woman, Jeanette, was employed in an administrative capacity. While all had completed high school, they came from working class homes.

Alan had been involved in the Methodist Church youth, in Christian leadership courses, and in the BCM, during the mid-1970s. When he joined Zakhe, he was a member of one of the new civic associations, and the Wilson Rowntrees Boycott Committee. Nomhle and Sindi had both gained experience in the independent trade union movement in the late 1970s, and in the two, new women's organisations, UWO and Women's Front. Jeanette had been at school during the 1980 School Boycott. She had no experience of community or trade union work. By 1982 all the staff, except Jeanette, were part of the emerging movement of community organisations, which was discussed in Part Four.

Zakhe was composed of people from different class backgrounds, different educational levels, different race classification, and different gender. The staff were on the whole younger than the Executive with the majority being in their twenties. The majority of staff and executive committee members were actively involved in other community or church organisations. Zakhe therefore contained within it, a range of sometimes competing and conflicting historical, political, social and ideological influences. The internal organisational practices were inevitably affected by, amongst other things, the biographies, and the ongoing involvements of members in outside organisations. Examples of the external influences on the internal practices within Zakhe will be given in the next section.

Goals, strategies and structures

In order to continue to investigate the linkages between Zakhe's macro and micro contexts, this section will focus on the changes in goals, strategies and structures during the organisation's history. The competing democratic theories operative at different times will be highlighted.

Zakhe was initially established as a service agency for self-help production groups. It was envisaged that a small core staff would encourage the development of basic skills within groups, for example bookkeeping, woodwork and sewing. It would establish and maintain a depot for materials for groups, and would provide an outlet for the sale of the groups' products. Training of group members in skills both for production and administration was seen as an important function. Different members tended to have different priorities. As mentioned above, the BC members stressed the importance of the establishment of a 'black people's shop', and the coordinator stressed the educational objectives which included the teaching of skills and the raising of political consciousness. The different priorities were related to deep political differences, which resulted in a power struggle developing between the BC members and the coordinator. The power struggle is most clearly illustrated in the changes made to the organisational structure in early 1980.

Initially with the establishment of Zakhe, an executive committee was set up comprising representatives of the four initiating agencies. The executive committee was the policy-making body. The first full-time worker of the organisation was also a full member of the committee. As other staff members were employed, they also joined the committee, although this was only officially adopted as policy at the end of 1979. On the executive committee there were tensions between the BC members and the coordinator. One illustration of this is recorded in the minutes of 4/12/79 where there was a heated exchange concerning the visit of an overseas funder to Zakhe. A black member of the executive wanted to know why he had not been told of the visit. He made the point that certain whites are known to monopolise the funders; the funders themselves are 'often racist' and happy to deal with whites. The executive asked to be informed in the future of any visits by funders.

The coordinator, Merle, recalled in an interview (24/8/82) that during 1979 there was an ongoing 'wrangle' amongst certain members around the establishment of a black people's shop. Merle believed that the shop should emerge as a cooperative venture *with* production groups; it should not be developed by the agency *for* the groups. She stressed the essential learning processes for potential participants in such a venture. The BC members, in line with BCM policy, were emphasising the establishment of a shop as a first priority. They were not concerned with the process, but the end result, which would be a shop run for and by black people.

This tension between the BC members and herself led Merle to attempt to shift power from the BC members by proposing a changed membership structure for Zakhe. This was accepted at the second AGM. (Feb. 1980.) The new structure allowed for representation on the controlling Executive Committee by 'cooperative self-help groups'. The representatives were to be elected at the AGM. Staff were automatically on the committee, and they and their nominees were to be in the majority. At the AGM the Executive gained three new members: two ministers of religion, one from the African areas and another from the rural areas, and a coloured community worker (*AGM Minutes* 25/2/80).

The new structure effectively concentrated more power in the hands of the Zakhe staff. The power of the BC members was broken, and while constitutionally Zakhe now had a representative structure, in practice the new structure proved to be unworkable. One of the reasons for this was that there were very few 'co- operative self-help groups' in Cape Town who were able to participate in the structure. The result of the new structure was greater staff power.

With the structural changes within Zakhe, there also was a shift in policy. (*Minutes of Executive Committee Workshop* 25/3/80.) In early 1980 Zakhe's policy was re-orientated to the establishment and promotion of 'cooperatives' rather than 'self-help groups'. This meant that the organisation became concerned more explicitly with cooperative organisational process, which meant the promotion of cooperative principles such as: the principles of equal pay, equal participation and say in decision-making, concern with the production of socially useful products, and a commitment to the collective development both of the members of the individual cooperatives, and a broader cooperative movement. They were concerned with the process of collective work, which included the individual and collective development of the group. Rather than encouraging the development of private business entrepreneurs in self-help groups, which they saw as support for individualistic and competitive values, they wanted to encourage the principles of 'self-help and communal good' amongst members of the cooperatives. The organisation therefore shifted its emphasis from an emphasis on offering material help to any self-help production group, to one which offered help to groups who wanted to operate according to cooperative principles, as defined above.

The shift in policy orientation is related to the shift in power within the organisation from BC executive members to the coordinator and new staff. It also is a reflection of the work experiences of staff. Through both the practical work with self-help groups, and deeper theoretical understanding of the structural causes of unemployment, staff came to be more critical of their work – they believed that their role was not to help a few people to survive economically, but to promote political consciousness by raising critical questions with the cooperative groups concerning the capitalist relations of production. This change in policy is reflected in the Second Evaluation Report March 1981 and in the co-op initiators' course which they ran in 1981. Through the promotion of collectivist principles, they hoped to encourage people in the groups to begin to build a vision of an alternative society which was based on greater equality, and collectivist rather than individualistic values.

During 1980 the limitations of their work with co-operatives also began to be questioned, once they had acquired more practical experience. One example of the difficulties they and a local wood-workers co-op were experiencing was described in the March 1981 Half-Yearly Report. Zakhe staff were finding that all their energies were going to help the group just survive. There was little time or opportunity for political educational work. The staff had helped the group organise their work: through structuring their time, developing administrative systems, teaching skills such as bookkeeping, meeting procedures, marketing and fundraising strategies. They had also helped with equipment, transport, and interpersonal problems. The co-op had many insurmountable problems which constantly threatened their economic survival. For example, the co-op had no working capital, it was unable to provide customers with hire-purchase facilities, and the members lacked certain crucial skills e.g. driving. The co-op also found that there was a scarcity of suitable people to join their cooperative group. They found that it was difficult to integrate people who had not shared in the growth process of the group. Zakhe staff found that members of the group easily slipped into traditional roles, where they were workers working for a wage, not willing or able to take joint responsibility for the cooperative. Zakhe staff spent most of their time trying to cope with the practical problems of the group. There was little time to spend on the education of members in 'collectivist principles'.

It was during 1980 that the school and consumer boycotts dominated community and worker activity in Cape Town. Bill had chaired the Fattis and Monis Boycott Committee in 1979, and was active in other community campaigns in 1980. In June 1980 many protesting school students had left school to seek work. Zakhe staff at this time began to explore the possibilities of working with politicised people, including students. They began to place growing emphasis on consumer cooperatives, which were not as complex as producer cooperatives, and which they hoped could function as part of the emerging network of community organisations. Zakhe staff stated in a publication:[17]

> All over South Africa people are forming strong organisations to fight for their rights. Workers form trade unions to fight for higher wages and better working conditions. Communities form civic associations to fight for better houses and services. Consumer co-ops are a way in which communities can organise to fight against the rising cost of living.

Zakhe's policy was becoming increasingly orientated to work with more politicised groups. The staff were beginning to see co-ops as a part of the emergent radical grouping of organisations. There was a close link between Zakhe's policy formulation and the external developments amongst worker and community organisations.

During 1980 Zakhe was wanting to employ additional staff, but was unable to locate suitably trained people (*Staff Minutes* 10/11/80). This led to another change in strategy. They decided to concentrate on the development and implementation of their own training programme for 'co-op initiators', rather than the servicing of individual cooperatives. The aim was both to train and identify potential staff for Zakhe, and to train people who could promote cooperatives from within the new civic, youth or women's organisations. The course was run over eighteen weekly sessions, during 1981, for which a set of training booklets, 'Cooperative Education Materials', was produced. The course materials illustrate Zakhe staff's more explicitly anti-capitalist, collectivist orientation at this stage. They were encouraging co-op initiators to develop a theoretical critique of the capitalist economic system. For example, in one booklet 'Training Course for Co-op Initiators' (p. 3) they say:

> In this session we will look at the capitalist economic system in our society. We will see that the capitalists' search for profit causes many problems such as unemployment, inflation, health problems, etc. This will help us later to see how co-ops are different from capitalist businesses, and the role co-ops can play in solving the problems in our society.

In March 1981 (*Minutes* 16/3/81) differences between some Executive members and staff over Zakhe's structure were beginning to reemerge. The conflict over the structures illustrated a divergence of opinion on the goals for the organisation. Two of the executive members believed that Zakhe should continue to service and promote individual cooperatives, and that the representative, democratic structure, agreed to at the 1980 AGM should become operative. While this proposal was agreed to at an executive meeting (19/6/81), it was never implemented. The staff in the meantime, drew up a document 'Towards a consideration of Zakhe's constitutional structure.' In it they argued that Zakhe was not a members organisation and should therefore reassess its structure in the light of this reality (*Minutes* 14/8/81). The staff were arguing for Zakhe's long term goal to be the development of a federation of co-ops. The federation would have a representative membership structure. Co-operative principles which the staff were promoting in the training course, included the idea of co-ops working together in solidarity with one another, and with other 'democratic community organisations'. They did not believe that a membership structure could or should be imposed on the co-ops. The structure, they believed, would only be able to function properly if it was decided on and implemented by the co-ops themselves.

At about this time, the major funder[18] of Zakhe had requested an evaluation of the organisation. An external evaluator, who was working for a staff-controlled community resource and service agency in Johannesburg, presented a report in October 1981. In it he recommended that: 'Zakhe should have a cooperative structure, which means the responsibility for management should be shared by all its members....' He went on: 'Zakhe should have a staff-controlled structure in which staff have equal voting rights and equal salaries.'

Staff and the funders accepted the report but there were no records available of a decision by the Executive Committee. The first record was of an executive meeting scheduled for 11/2/82, which did not take place because of a lack of a quorum. Staff, however, were going ahead with the drawing up of constitutional amendments in line with the recommendations. The next record of an executive meeting was on 26/4/82. Two of the members were unhappy with the proposed structure. They believed that Zakhe had a responsibility to co-ops and that staff should be accountable to some external committee. Staff at this stage wanted to operate in accordance with the cooperative principles they were teaching to others, which meant a staff-controlled structure.

Two competing theories of democracy were operational at this point. Staff were promoting a participatory democratic structure while certain executive members were emphasising the importance of a representative democratic structure. Even with the opposition from some of the executive, staff members went ahead with the adaption of the constitution in accordance with the evaluator's recommendations. They felt they could do this, as the funders had accepted the idea of a staff-controlled, cooperative structure. Without the funders support the executive committee had little power. In time the committee became moribund.

During the course of 1981 Zakhe saw the need for the promotion of cooperatives as having to contribute to the general process of community organisation in communities. In its evaluation report of September 1981 it is stated:

> As we now see it, the overall goal of Zakhe's work is to help establish a strong, united, democratic cooperative movement, which will work alongside other progressive movements such as trade unions and civics.

They saw a big difference between a cooperative movement and groups of isolated cooperative projects. A movement implied commitment to the growth and development of other co-ops. They also believed that members' commitment to the basic principles of co-ops would have a spill-over effect into the community as a whole. They felt that, 'Since the basic co-op principle is that economic life should be organised democratically, a co-op movement would naturally work with movements fighting for democracy in other areas. ' (*Evaluation Report* 1981 p. 2.)

The use of the term 'democracy' by Zakhe staff also demonstrates the influence of the external context on its practice. 'Democracy' was referred to explicitly in Zakhe documents for the first time in early 1981. This was at the time that 'democracy' was being promoted very actively through, for example, the community newsletter *Grassroots*. As the year progressed, in Zakhe 'democratic' and 'cooperative' principles seemed to become increasingly synonymous. Thus they interpreted 'democracy' to mean participatory democracy. Inthe new proposed consititution drawn up after the 1981 evaluation and during 1982, emphasis was given to democratic and cooperative forms of organisation. It stated the aim of Zakhe to be:

> To promote awareness of principles of cooperatives and cooperative and democratic forms of organisation; To follow cooperative and democratic principles in the organisation of Zakhe; To promote the development of co-ops through the provision of resources and assistance; To undertake research as may be necessary; To promote the formation of a Federation of Co-ops which can take over Zakhe's function; To participate in and support activities aimed at the promotion of cooperatives and democratic principles in society.

Zakhe had moved within four years from aiming to help organise unemployed people in income-generating self-help groups, to an organisation which was aiming to promote cooperative and democratic principles on various levels of society, by working together with other democratic organisations and groups. These changes appear to have occurred for a number of mutually reinforcing reasons. These include the practical experiences gained by the staff, their increased theoretical understanding of the capitalist system within which they were operating, the developments within the broader community, and their changing views on strategies for social change.

During the course of Zakhe's work in 1982 and 1983 priority was given increasingly to servicing and supporting community organisations such as civics, women's organisations, and youth organisations, rather than cooperatives, in order to achieve its broad objectives. Support for the nascent democratic movement, rather than a specific cooperative movement became the priority. To this end, Zakhe established a number of 'service co-ops' in consultation with community and worker organisations. They included provision of transport, loans, printing facilities, and the bulk purchasing of paper to community and worker organisations (*Minutes Book* 1982).

A final change to Zakhe's structure which will be mentioned and which illustrates another development in their understanding of 'democratic' structure was accepted by the staff in the amended constitution of October 1982 and implemented in mid-1983. This was the reintroduction of a representative structure, in addition to the participatory democratic staff structure. They established a 'consultation committee', comprising representatives from certain invited community organisations. The organisations which were invited were those with which staff had close contact, such as UWO and CAHAC. They were also the organisations which supported a non-racial, as opposed to a BC political position. This committee has advisory rather than executive functions. Although in the case of 'irresolvable conflict' amongst staff, or the final dissolution of the organisation, the consultation committee has executive authority. This is the present structure of Zakhe. The motivation for this change was explained by Bill as follows:[19]

> The consultation group issue came out of the vacuum between the Executive and the staff. I felt it wasn't healthy for staff to have that power. We're sitting with resources which we're using to develop organisations and they are not having a say – this was the reason. Also we know that agencies can be wiped out by the system. What happens to equipment and other assets in that case? We needed an external committee.

Bill, in the above quote, explains the structural change in terms a particular view of 'good' practice. He believes that staff should be accountable to the organisations they serve through a representative structure. This is a change from the staff's argument for a 'cooperative structure' in 1980. One reason for the change relates to the pressure (as described in Note 5 of the footnotes) on organisations like Zakhe to be accountable to a broader grouping of progressive organisations. In addition, he argues that the possibility of repressive State action, demands an external structure of representatives from sympathetic organisations which could redistribute any organisational assets if necessary. Therefore the combination of a participatory and a representative structure has been adopted.

Summary

In this section the linkages between the internal organisational practices of Zakhe and the external context have been demonstrated through a discussion of the history of Zakhe, a description of its membership, and a discussion of the changing goals, strategies and structures. While the exact relationship between the nature of the membership and the changing goals, structures and strategies has not been rigorously pursued, adequate evidence of the importance of the influence of the macro context on the micro practices has been given. In addition conflicting interests within the organisation were illustrated, and these were seen also to be reflected in different, competing theories of democracy which were operative at particular times during Zakhe's history and which reflected differing views on strategies for social change. This point will be elaborated later.

INTERNAL PROCESSES – SHARING RESPONSIBILITY

The theoretical 'tools' that were developed from the literature for the analysis of self-education within the case studies, consists of four integrated internal processes: action, reflection, theoretical knowledge and participatory democracy. It was argued that all four processes were essential for the development of leadership in voluntary associations, and for the concomitant 'empowering' of members.

In this section the aim is to describe the internal micro organisational processes within Zakhe according to the categories described earlier. The analytical 'tools' will be used to probe the data further. As I have argued in the previous section, the separation of micro processes from the macro context is in practice impossible, however it is being done here for analytical convenience. The discussion on accountability will inevitably highlight the linkage between the micro and macro contexts once more.

The categories, which were described earlier, are:

- Participation by Members in Planning and Evaluation.
- Sharing of Skills and Information. This includes Job Rotation, Job Specialisation, Coordination, Nonformal Education.
- Accountability, internal and external (this includes relationships with other organisations).
- Barriers to the Sharing of Responsibility. What has helped or hindered the process?

Each of these categories will be discussed separately.

Participation in planning and evaluation

An investigation of planning and evaluation in Zakhe highlights the problems that the staff have had in maintaining a balance between theory and practice, and between action and reflection. At times action has proceeded with little collective planning beforehand, and evaluation afterwards. The more involved staff have become with more explicitly political action, the less able they have been to maintain the participatory democratic decision- making practices within the organisation. The tension between the espoused collectivist values and the, at times, individualistic actions, has also been highlighted. Examples will be given to illustrate these problems.

From the establishment of Zakhe, staff have participated on the Executive Committee, where, in theory at least, policy was decided. Within the daily functioning of the organisation, a non-hierarchical structure existed. Ongoing planning theoretically has occurred in weekly staff meetings. However, for the first year (1979) there was only one full-time employee, with others on a part-time or short term basis. Therefore the coordinator carried primary responsibility for developing plans and bringing them to the Executive Committee for decisions. By 1982 the constitution had been amended so that staff in committee became the highest decision-making body. Planning occurred at fortnightly work planning meetings of all the staff and at weekly staff meetings. Responsibility for the chairing of these meetings rotated systematically to all members.

On another level planning and evaluation have been closely related to half-yearly reports which have been required by the major funders. Detailed reports were compiled by the coordinator in consultation with staff. Since 1980 there had been an attempt to share the responsibility for the report writing. Most often it has been written by a couple of the most active members after discussions and some written contributions from other members.

In Zakhe's reports and minutes the importance of evaluation has frequently been stressed. (e.g. *Minutes* Dec. '78; Dec. '79; Nov. '80, Dec. '82, Jan. '84) An example of the importance given to evaluation, was the appointment in 1980 of a part-time voluntary worker, Dave, to be the evaluator/researcher in the organisation. He drew up two evaluation reports which provided the basis for future planning. However, this position was difficult to maintain, as Dave soon found himself drawn into other activities in the organisation. In October 1981 the funder requested an external evaluater to assess Zakhe's work. The evaluator spent three weeks with the staff and his assessment laid the basis for their future planning.

During 1982 as part of the in-service training, trainees interviewed members of organisations to assess their opinions of co-ops, and possibilities for Zakhe's role. This method of assessment to gauge the responses of 'important others' to proposed plans, has now been used several times by Zakhe (January, 1983; February, 1984; September, 1984). In addition, one to two week evaluation sessions have been held periodically by staff to assess the previous year's activities and to plan for the next year. The planning and evaluation however has often not reflected actual practice. At times there has been a wide gulf between what was planned and what was done. A graphic example of this lack of congruence between theory and practice was revealed during participant observation in Zakhe in the second half of 1982.

Weekly and fortnightly planning sessions were held by the staff with regularity. The plans most often described activities to promote different forms of cooperative activity. Many times these plans would not materialise. It was at this stage that the staff were most concerned to link cooperative activity into other community organisational activity. The new staff, Sindi, Nomhle and Alan, had been appointed partially because of their membership and involvement with other community organisations. Part of their job was to explore the possibilities for the establishment of co-ops through the emergent women's or civic organisations. They spent much of their time responding directly to requests from organisations, thus practising a reactive strategy. Their main aim seemed to be to win credibility for Zakhe by being available and offering relevant services to assist these organisations. Thus, at this stage plansto encourage the development of co-ops were made, but in fact most time was spent on community organising.

The lack of consistency between what was planned and what was done was of concern to certain staff.[20] The funders were being told of proposed co-op activity and staff were seldom engaged in such activity. It seemed that they did not know how to resolve the lack of congruence between their theory and their practice. They were more strongly committed to the political action of the moment than to building co-ops. As discussed previously, co-ops had become a means to political educational activity rather than as ends in themselves. In the January 1984 staff evaluation they finally resolved to abandon 'talking about' co-ops as their focus and to concentrate both their theory and practice on the facilitation of 'collective action' through the provision of services. It was at this time that Dave resigned from the organisation. Dave stated that he felt that he no longer had a contribution to make as he was not actively involved with other community organisations. He was critical of Zakhe's reactive approach. He in his part-time capacity had been most involved in policy formulation in Zakhe since 1980 through the writing of key policy reports.

The involvement of staff in community campaigns and in other organisations, at times severely inhibited the possibilities for collective decision-making, and the maintenance of a balance between action and reflection. One example is when in January 1983, Sindi, with the agreement of her colleagues, and as a member of UWO, became very involved in the KTC squatter struggle.[21] She was effectively out of the office for four months. During this time it was impossible for her to consult other staff and vice versa on important decisions. The authority for decision-making lay with the ad hoc organising committee. Zakhe staff had given Sindi a mandate to work with the committee as she saw fit. During this period, and during other political campaigns, which all the staff except Jeanette were periodically engaged in, participatory democratic practice amongst the staff was not feasible. Decision-making was done by the individual staff members with the specific ad hoc committee formed for the purpose.

During 1982 and 1983 staff were frequently involved in various campaigns. Therefore in the evaluation by staff in January 1984, they described the previous year as 'chaotic' from Zakhe's point of view. Planning had occurred often in an ad hoc way, with Bill being most actively involved in exploring possibilities for new projects with members of other community organisations. While all staff acknowledged the importance of planning and evaluation,[22] they found that the reactive nature of much of their work made consistent planning and evaluation very difficult.

In January 1984, two weeks were set aside for an in-depth evaluation.[23] An agenda was drawn up by all the staff, and areas allocated for each member to research beforehand. The agenda included background perspectives on organisations in the Western Cape, projects, interpersonal relationships, administration and management. During this time staff discussed several of the tensions within their work. The staff highlighted tensions they experienced with the interpretation of democratic practice they questioned the tension between individualism and collectivism, and the issue of authority.

The unresolved tension in Zakhe between collectivism and individualism is best captured in the following dialogue which occurred during the evaluation, and which is concerned with participation of the members in the evaluation itself:

SW: It seems from the evaluation that group dependency is a potential problem.

Bill: Contributions can be mechanical. Group dependency is equally bad or worse than individual dependence. It can stop growth and initiative. You get to a point when as an individual you don't want to take a line.

Alan: ... it's definitely a danger.

Later on the discussion continued:

Jeanette: A lot has been said about mechanical participation and response, but what other way is there to go about things if everyone is to get a turn?

SW: This is an important question.

Bill: There's no initiative taken. We must have a meeting first. We mustn't let democracy choke ourselves. We mustn't focus too much on the education side while the outside world's going on.

Jeanette: Also if you don't bring things to meetings there's uneasiness.

Bill: We need meetings, we must bring things, but we must also *do* things.

The norm within the Zakhe staff meetings, which was also reflected in the evaluation sessions, has been a general reticence on the part of individuals to take the lead, to assert their opinion. While participation by everyone was far higher in the 1984 than the 1983 evaluation sessions, there was a lack of initiative by individuals, and a dependence on the group as a whole. This group dependency is also related to the question of the allocation of authority.

Two of the staff during the evaluation argued strongly for a much clearer allocation of responsibility amongst the staff. In the previous two years tasks and responsibilities tended to be allocated at the weekly or fortnightly planning meetings. Individuals did not have a clearly demarcated area of work. In practice it worked out that certain people consistently were responsible for particular tasks, such as the bulk purchasing of paper, but in the planning no overall authority was given to individuals. There seemed to be a concern to avoid specialisation in the organisation. After the evaluation in 1984 tasks were allocated more specifically.

In an interview with Sindi in October 1984, she expressed relief at the greater clarity both in terms of congruity between theory and practice, and in terms of the allocation of responsibility:

> The clarity between our goals and funders' goals is better. (sic) We said to funders we would not work with co-ops. This has affected my work in that I can work more freely. In 1982 and 1983 I was unsure – 'Is this supposed to be part of Zakhe's work? Am I supposed to be establishing co-ops?' This year I was given responsibility for the Signature Campaign, *Township News* and work broadly in community organisations.... I am able now to plan ahead. This doesn't mean you'll carry it through though, because the decision lies with the project committee....

The question of authority in Zakhe relates to the authority of individuals, the collective authority of the group, and the authority of outside committees. In the quote by Sindi, she refers to the authority which she has, and the authority of the 'project committee'. Several projects, such as the *Township News* referred to by Sindi, are joint projects Zakhe is engaged in with other organisations and individuals. As Sindi points out decision-making authority lies with the committee. This inevitably detracts from the authority of the Zakhe collective, and as with staff's involvement with ad hoc campaign committees, raises questions about the degree of participatory democracy possible within Zakhe.

The discussion on planning and evaluation within Zakhe reveals a high degree of ambiguity in their practice. On one hand there is a concern for collective decision-making within the organisation, which has resulted in a degree of group dependency in the meetings and limited delegation of authority to individuals. On the other, the reactive, specifically political action, has resulted in individuals acting in concert with outside groups, with little collective internal decision-making. Consistent and regular planning and evaluation has not occurred although the staff have all acknowledged the importance of 'action and reflection' to be a part of their ongoing practice.

Sharing of skills and information

The common concern of all the people involved in the establishment of Zakhe was the development of skills amongst black people. This concern carried through to the development of staff skills, particularly after the fairly early realisation that there were very few appropriately trained blacks who could be employed by Zakhe. In 1982 the organisation's commitment to 'the sharing of skills and information among the members' was written into its constitution. There were certain structural arrangements which were developed to help achieve this end. These included the co-operative, staff-controlled decision-making structure, and the rotation of functions in the organisation.

In order to investigate the sharing of skills and information in in Zakhe the following aspects will provide the focus: Job Rotation, Job Specialisation, Nonformal Education, and Coordination.

JOB ROTATION

The development of skills to assist self-help production groups, was initially one of Zakhe's primary goals. However, there was a fairly early acknowledgement of the lack of adequately trained people within the organisation and outside it who could help achieve its goals, hence the organisation's decision to train its own staff. In an internal evaluation report (September, 1981) two types of skills were seen as necessary for Zakhe staff:

1. Skills to maintain the organisational infra-structure.
2. Knowledge and theoretical understanding of the broader context, of the role of co-ops and the role of Zakhe in the wider society.

Different strategies have been employed at different times to attempt to develop these skills.

An attempt to develop administration skills occurred through rotation of certain tasks, like typing, bookkeeping, correspondence and report writing.

For example, in 1982 a system developed whereby correspondence was rotated amongst staff members every month, and accounts and bookkeeping rotated amongst staff every two months. The sharing out of these tasks has continued to be done, although in some instances such as typing and the preparation of the financial statement, specialisation has occured. Chairing of meetings and minute taking had continued to be rotated systematically amongst all staff. During an interview (Sept. 1982) with Jeanette, she expressed the view:

> That by being forced to take a turn at chairing, I'm now much more confident in meetings. I know more now as to when to move things along, and when to give people a chance to speak....

The sharing of certain tasks has been inhibited by the lack of skills amongst some members. For example a lack of driving skills amongst the female staff members, meant that male staff were obliged to carry a particular workload. The male staff resented this, but acknowledged that the lack of these skills was a political issue; as Alan (Sept. 1982) put it, 'it reflected the oppression of black women'. They therefore decided that it should be challenged. It was decided that all staff should learn to drive. A vehicle was made available and staff were encouraged to take driving lessons. Sindi and Jeanette obtained their driving licences within a year. Other skills, like language skills were more difficult to learn. Therefore particular tasks which required a higher proficiency of English, Xhosa or Afrikaans have continued to be done by those with the most skill. For example, the sharing of the report writing for funders has been limited to the more proficient English speakers which has meant that the Xhosa speakers have been less involved.

The rotation of administrative tasks and the commitment of staff to the development of skills has facilitated the acquisition of skills amongst all the staff such as printing, lay-out, typing, driving, bookkeeping and report writing. However in some areas some staff expressed dissatisfaction – Bill expressed frustration at what he perceived to be staff's continued inability to plan. He said in an interview (Oct. 1984):

> They have gained the theory, but they can't put it into practice. I still find that if I don't raise certain things they just won't get done. Like this latest report to the funders and assessing Zakhe's future....

He went on to say that he has found the lack of planning a problem in all the progressive community organisations.[24] Sindi disagreed with Bill. She believed that she had learnt to plan and project ahead in her own areas of work. She felt that the positions of responsibility that she has held in community organisations such as UWO had forced her to take a lead in planning and initiating.[25]

JOB SPECIALISATION

Job specialisation has always occurred in Zakhe. In 1980 two people were employed as the fieldworker and secretary respectively. However, there has also been a desire to break down rigid specialisation, and in 1981 the secretary was encouraged to do a community work training course and to start a co-op in Mitchell's Plain, while the fieldworker was involved in some secretarial functions. (*Minutes* 16/3/81) This was in line with the anti-specialisation ethos that prevailed at the time. Another example of specialisation was the appointment in 1980 of Dave as evaluator /researcher. This specialised function soon fell away, although Dave, who was a university academic, did continue playing an important role in the conceptualisation of Zakhe's policy. He was mostly concerned with policy formulation and was largely responsible for the drawing up of the constitution in 1982. He was not very involved in the practical implementation of policy. (Dave's specialised role, although not acknowledged as such, might help to explain in part the incongruity between the organisation's plans and practices as described above. This will be discussed later.)

In 1982 three of the staff were employed as general workers because of their interest in co-ops and their interest and experience in other community and worker organisations. One member was employed for her secretarial skills. She became primarily responsible for certain administrative functions. As mentioned above the other staff did not have clearly demarcated areas of work. Work was allocated at the work planning sessions in a fairly ad hoc way, except for the work which related to staff's membership of specific organisations.

Over time certain people did become more involved with work in particular areas. For example, the paper-bulk buying and printing was the responsibility of two staff members. However, the specialisation that was occurring was not readily acknowledged. In a meeting in August 1983, when preparing for the Self-Management Workshop, the reality of two members being 'high profile' and 'at the barricades' as compared to the other two staff who carried out maintenance and back-up functions, mainly based at the office, seemed to come as 'a revelation' to the staff (Diary note: 23/3/83).

As mentioned above, by March 1984, staff had allocated the major areas of work to specific members. Two of the staff were more responsible for administration and organisational maintenance, while the other three were most centrally involved in services, projects and campaigns (*Minutes* 13/3/84). By June, two of the staff had resigned one to do a training course, and the other to join a union as full-time organiser. Work tasks therefore had to be reallocated to take this into account.

The question of specialisation in Zakhe again highlights the ambiguity in the organisation. The actual practice reveals that a degree of specialisation has been necessary. But specialisation was not readily acknowledged. One reason could be that specialisation did not concur with a popular view of 'good' participatory democratic practice which advocated that 'everyone should do everything'. This argument also resonates with the views expressed within the works of Illich and Freire on the non-directive role of the 'teacher'/leader, who is not to impose views on the learners (see Chapter Six). Superiority of knowledge is not acknowledged. There is an assumption that everyone is equal.

COORDINATION

The issue of overall coordination has always been alive in Zakhe, and is related to the question of authority, which has been raised above. While shared coordination by a staff team had at times been seen as desirable (*Minutes* 29/7/79), the reality was that in the first year coordination was by one person. In 1982 there was an attempt at collective coordination which occurred through regular meetings. However, by the end of that year, staff decided to institute a rotating overall coordinator (O.C.). The rationale for this development was recalled at the evaluation in January, 1984:

> *Sindi:* Why did we institute overall coordination?
>
> *Alan:* When we were evaluating last year we found one person who had been working long (sic). That person was acting as coordinator although we didn't put him there. We decided to officially share coordination.
>
> *Bill:* The issue of coordination was alive when I joined in 1980. We tried dual coordination, single coordination.... Part of the idea for motivation of an 'overall coordinator' was skills and sharing. This came out of the training course. We saw that skills for working in Zakhe also related to skills for coordination. It was highlighted in the 'democratic processes study' where we looked at participation, decision-making and all that. Pressure of work was the other factor. I think overall the pressure on Zakhe necessitated shared coordination.

Staff recalled the reasons for the implementation of the function of O. C. It was an attempt to structure the distribution of responsibility for coordination of work. Bill who was the longest serving staff member found himself coordinating the work most often. They also believed that the type of work Zakhe engaged in required that all members were able to manage and administer activities i.e. coordinate. Through the rotation of this function they hoped the skills would be learnt and the responsibility shared.

The role of the O. C. was supposed to include financial planning and budget control, liaison with financial partners, contact with the consultation group, maintaining an overview of direction and strategy for the organisation, and ensuring that major commitments of the organisation were carried through. By the time of the evaluation in January 1984, two staff had acted as O. C. However they expressed serious problems with their role. In general they experienced a lack of clarity and a lack of cooperation from staff with the O. C. function. There had been no specific training for the job nor evaluation of it. It appears that in practice the staff were not prepared to give the O. C. the authority that the job required. This again is an example of the the ambiguity concerning authority in the organisation, and the incongrous relationship between theory and practice. The role of the coordinator and the responses from the members to this position seems to reflect, as with the question of job specialisation mentioned above, a particular view of leadership. It seems that in theory everyone in the organisation is assumed to be equal, although in practice, as mentioned above, the longest serving member in fact provides the leadership. There is no open acknowledgement that certain members may have superior knowledge on certain issues.

During the evaluation staff felt that it was worth persevering with the function of O. C., but a clearer understanding of the job and a development of specific skills would be a prerequisite. This commitment was partially carried through with a one day workshop in March 1984, which focused particularly on questions of finance and relationships with funders. In interviews with the OC in October 1984, he explained that he has been most involved in carrying out the administrative functions during the year, rather than with overall direction of the organisation. The job had also not been rotated, as two staff had resigned and the other two staff were more involved with fieldwork and did not want to do the O. C. job. The result has been that the O. C has taken responsibility for certain administrative functions, while not giving overall direction. The lead in this area has still been given by Bill, the most experienced staff member.

NONFORMAL EDUCATION

Self-education within Zakhe has taken an informal and nonformal form. The informal education has occurred through for example the rotation of tasks, through the decision-making structures, and through planning and evaluation processes. The non-formal education has usually taken the form of specific, programmes and workshops which have been run for and by staff. Examples which have been mentioned so far, are the systematic study of 'democratic processes', and a workshop on fundraising and financial planning. The most ambitious educational project, however, was the three month in-service programme for new staff.

It was in this programme and in other non-formal education programmes that staff have been able to confront theoretical issues in a systematic way.

During 1981 staff had run a course for co-op initiators. As mentioned above, one of the primary reasons was to train potential staff for Zakhe as the organisation had found it very difficult to find appropriately trained people. Three of the trainees joined the staff at the beginning of 1982. They began an intensive three month in-service training programme in February 1982. The course aimed to train them to work with consumer co-ops and credit unions within the progressive movement of community and worker organisations. It also aimed to train them to work in a cooperative structure in which they shared responsibility for the organisation. There was a conscious attempt to integrate theory and practice, with morning sessions often dealing with theory, and afternoons concentrating on action. Trainees had to interview people in organisations on the role of co-ops, they were to investigate the possibilities for the establishment of consumer co-ops and credit unions, and they were to become integrated in the running of Zakhe straight away.

Trainees expressed the view in interviews (Sept. 1982) that they had found the course very stimulating, although very concentrated. This they found had made absorption of the many new ideas difficult. Unfortunately, no thorough evaluation of the course has been done. (This points again to the difficulties of balancing action and reflection within the organisational context.) Once the three month course was completed there were some support structures for trainees built into the organisational practices. For example, daily 'feed-back sessions' were introduced where staff shared information from the previous day. 'Interpersonal discussions' were held once a month for the sharing of interpersonal feelings. Other support was provided in the weekly staff meetings. After a few months however certain of the structures became moribund as staff became more actively involved in community campaigns, and action rather than reflection became the priority.

Experience within the PR group, which was described above, illustrated the problems with the maintenance of a balance between action and reflection. It also highlighted the specialisation within the organisation amongst those more involved with the development of theoretical analyses of the issues, and others more involved in action. The PR group had been a structured forum for reflection on action. But after a while action had prevented certain staff from continuing to be involved in the process. From the outset I had played a role which had been negotiated and which specialised in the provision of the majority of theoretical input, and the facilitation of theoretical analysis of events. Dave had also provided important theoretical insights from his training as an academic. Action and reflection increasingly became specialised functions with some more involved in the one than the other aspect. Yet the PR group provided for over a year a structured and focused strategy for reflection on action for the majority of Zakhe members.

In Zakhe theoretical knowledge has been acquired in occasional nonformal programmes, and in informal ways. Zakhe has maintained a library of current, locally produced materials and these have been circulated amongst the staff. It has also been customary for the daily newspapers to be read at work by staff. This latter activity has often led to discussions of political events. Other similar discussions happen informally most often either in Zakhe or in the other community organisations to which Zakhe members belong. Through staff involvement in the preparation of nonformal programmes for others, such as the Co-op Initiators Course in 1981 and the Self-Management Workshop in 1983, theoretical knowledge was acquired most consistently. It had not been possible to structure theoretical discussions on a regular basis over any length of time except in the case of the PR group. Involvement in action has usually taken precedence. In the PR group the presence of an outsider seemed to assist the process of structured theoretical input. One member enrolled to do a formal diploma course in Adult Education as he felt the need for a structured educational programme (Informal Discussion Oct. 1983).

Accountability – internal and external

An investigation of accountability within Zakhe reflects the competing democratic theories which have gained predominance at different times in the organisation's history. For example, as described above, at particular times a participatory democratic theory, a representative democratic theory or a combination of the two, has gained predominance. The organisational structures which have been established to reflect the different theories, have included a staff-controlled structure which has stressed internal accountability by staff members to one another, or a structure which has included a representative committee to which staff are externally accountable.

The question of greater emphasis on internal or external accountability in Zakhe has become an important organisational issue for the staff. Some staff at different times have stressed the importance of accountability to an external political grouping, whilefor others accountability to the members internally has remained a prime consideration. This discussion of accountability in Zakhe will concentrate on the tension between internal and external accountability which has been highlighted particularly in the period prior to and during the formation of the UDF. (See Part Four)

In the latter half of 1981 Zakhe staff had adopted a cooperative, staff-controlled structure which placed executive authority with the staff as a collective. In 1982 an in-service training course was run for four new staff members. This course stressed joint responsibility by all staff for the administration and management of the organisation. Trainees were integrated into the collective decision-making processes of Zakhe immediately. All decisions were in theory to be taken 'in committee'.

From February 1982 until around August 1982, the staff concentrated on their own education. A lot of time was spent sharing information and in developing procedures for cooperative functioning. There was a high degree of accountability to one another, with members describing the climate within the organisation as 'warm and caring'. The daily feed-back sessions, weekly reports, and rotation of administrative tasks were described above. The development of each member's practical ability and theoretical understanding was a priority.

It was during this time that Zakhe was wanting to win credibility for itself amongst the emergent, radical grouping of community and worker organisations. It aimed to promote cooperatives through these organisations, but before this would become possible, staff believed that they would have to be accepted by the people in the organisations. They therefore spent much of their time providing services for the civic, women's and student organisations. In September the emergence of the DBAC provided an opportunity for the Zakhe staff to become centrally involved with the broad grouping of community organisations.

From September 1982, Sindi and Nomhle were very involved in the DBAC through their positions on the executive committees of UWO and Women's Front. The one served on the DBAC finance committee and the other served as secretary for the first few meetings. Bill was also involved directly through his membership of the media committee. Through their involvement, Zakhe's resources such as their printing, short term loan and transport facilites came to be used more widely, and the Zakhe staffbecame better known amongst activists. Zakhe's resources began to be heavily used from this time on, and staff were drawn into several campaigns which were running simultaneously.

From staff's direct involvement in community and campaign organisations, Zakhe was able to assess the needs of the organisations and develop services accordingly. They did this in consultation with the organisations and activists with whom they had most contact. With each service project they aimed to establish a committee composed of representatives from user organisations to control the project. For example, the Driving Co-op and the Printing Co-op (PABSCO) were established with their own committees. However in reality these committees have not functioned. Zakhe staff have ended up taking responsibility for the paper, transport and loan services. Participants appear to have been concerned to use the services but not to administer them.

During 1983 Zakhe's pattern of involvement with community organisations continued with the heightened political activity as UDF was formed to fight the Government's new constitutional proposals and the Orderly Movement Bills. At this time, as previously discussed, deep political cleavages reappeared amongst the left-wing organisations. The Cape Action League was formed in Cape Town as an alternative structure to the UDF. The formation of the two umbrella structures divided people and organisations into clearer political camps. The Zakhe staff, except for Jeanette, were all members of the UDF affiliated organisations with one also being a member of a non-aligned civic. The staff at the time were supporters of the non-racial rather than the BC political line. Zakhe became most clearly identified with UDF when its offices were used as a UDF base for the organising of the national launch of the new body in August 1983.

The outcome of the increased community activity and Zakhe's active participation in it, led to its resources being severely stretched. Staff were very busy responding to requests. Time became very limited for maintenance work within the organisation. The education and training of staff, the commitment to skills sharing, interpersonal relationships, evaluation and planning (all elements which had been recognised as important for a democratic organisation) were neglected. Externally, the development of political camps resulted in Zakhe's services being used primarily by the UDF affilitated organisations. Only occasionally would organisations from the CAL or other tendencies approach Zakhe to use its services. On one occasion Zakhe staff refused permission for a CAL affiliate to use its facilites because of what they believed to be 'slanderous anti-UDF' content in the pamphlet which was to be printed.

Zakhe established a Consultation Committee in mid-1983 in order to formalise its accountability to UDF affiliated organisations. It had undertaken in its constitution in October 1982 to set up a committee. It invited representatives from what staff saw as six key community organisations and one trade union. The Committee has met on average every three to four months for consultation.

The committee has experienced some problems which have limited its effectiveness. (This was discussed at the Evaluation Jan. 1984) It has several full-time community organisers on it, who are members of both UDF committees and the committees of affiliate organisations. They have limited time to get involved in detailed discussions. Therefore from the staff's point of view the committee has been an important formal mechanism which provides a channel for official communication when necessary, and as a legal arrangement if Zakhe, for some reason, is dissolved and its assets have to be distributed. In October 1984 staff found that the committee provided a useful forum for a discussion of Zakhe's future direction.

During 1983 and 1984 Zakhe staff have actively developed projects together with other organisations. Examples are the Township News, and the Unemployment Project. The projects have been established with their own controlling committee. Zakhe has provided resources and staff, but the projects are autonomous. Sindi, who works on two of these projects explained Zakhe's role.[23]

> Zakhe doesn't have the power to change decisions. We can give advice. I realise that we can influence the committee because we have resources, but I think if you are aware of this, it can be prevented.... I have seen what happened to another agency (*sic*) who tried to push their ideas down people's throats. Maybe that experience has made me aware of the dangers, or else I might fall into the same trap....

Certain of the staff, particularly Sindi and Bill, have been most involved in the projects, while Alan, Jeanette and Dave have been more involved in the provision of services from the office and in the maintenance of the organisation. A division appears to have developed between those mainly in the office and the field workers. The fieldworkers have come to feel more accountable to the external groupings. They have stated[27] that they 'feel more accountable to projects and organisations than to Zakhe itself'. Those in the office have, on the other hand periodically expressed frustration at, for example, their inability to make collective decisions and to share certain tasks, when fieldworkers are involved in projects or campaigns out of the office. They have wanted a higher commitment to internal accountability.

In Zakhe it would appear that as its political affiliation became clearer and its services became more clearly defined, accountability to the political grouping has become stronger than internal accountability to one another. This development has important implications for organisational processes, and indicates a change in some of the assumptions concerning democratic practice. Democratic practice now includes more clearly, accountability to an external grouping while maintaining accountability to the members internally. To some members, it appears, that there is more commitment to the external authority, and to others, the question of accountability to the other members remains a prime consideration. The tension between internal accountability and external accountability has now become an important and, as yet, unresolved organisational issue. It raises key questions about the location of authority both inside and outside the organisation. It is reasonable to assume that both developments in the external context and developments within Zakhe, particularly relating to who is employed in Zakhe in the future, will have a central part to play in how these issues are negotiated, contested, and resolved within the organisation.

WHAT HAS HELPED OR HINDERED THE SHARING OF RESPONSIBILITY?

Within this section the major issues which have helped or hindered the sharing of responsibility within Zakhe will be highlighted. Several of the issues have been discussed above, others have been alluded to. This section will serve also as a summary of the case study. The specific issues which will be raised here and which relate to the analytical tools are: theory and practice; action and reflection; theoretical knowledge; consensus and conflict; the macro context; and internal and external accountability. A full discussion of these issues will occur in Part Six once all three case studies have been presented.

CONSENSUS AND CONFLICT

In the description of Zakhe's membership the differences in race classification, class, educational qualifications, language, gender, and political affiliations, were pointed out. In the above description of the internal organisational processes no reference was made to mechanisms developed within the organisation to deal with the inherent conflict of interests. This is because there were no formal structures in the organisation to deal with conflict.

Conflict has been dealt with in ad hoc ways. It has seldom been openly acknowledged. The norm has been to assume consensus amongst members of the organisation. It is noteworthy that conflict amongst people in the organisation has rarely been minuted.

There is a fundamental contradiction between the conflict within Zakhe and its cooperative ideals. Within the cooperative or participatory democratic structure which Zakhe has developed, a high degree of openness and trust is required in order to share responsibility for the administration and management of the organisation. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that conflict within the situation will inhibit the ability of the members to share responsibility. Two examples will be given to illustrate the inherent conflict.

One illustration of conflict which has not been openly addressed in Zakhe is the issue of 'race'. In the South African context where racism has been institutionalised, 'race' has been a contentious and sensitive issue. One example of racism in Zakhe will illustrate its presence.

Merle, the original coordinator of Zakhe, resigned in March 1982, after conflict with Bill. She believed that Bill had always wanted her out of the organisation because:

> He believed Zakhe would never have credibility with the community while I, as a white person, was there.

She was very conscious of her disadvantaged position in decision-making as a white woman. She continued:[28]

> I realise now on reflection that the two years we worked together, he always got his own way. I was made to feel that there were things that I couldn't know.... I let him into my confusion, but I accepted my second class position. (I don't know whether being white or being a woman was the most influential factor in this acceptance)....

Officially she agreed to resign 'for personal reasons', but in the minutes (18/3/82), there was a cryptic note mentioning 'racism'. There was no elaboration in the minutes as to what this meant. However when interviewing the staff, they acknowledged that Merle's interpretation of events was correct. Merle was the last white person to be employed in a permanent capacity in Zakhe.

Another example of conflict within the organisation relates to different political affiliation. An illustration of this was the difference between the BC members and the coordinator, which was described above, and which manifested in a change to the organisational structures.

Conflict within Zakhe has been difficult to identify beyond scattered examples, such as those described above. Within Zakhe the norm has been to assume consensus. Discipline has occurred in ad hoc ways rather than according to set procedures. The differences which relate to class, gender and race classification have not been openly addressed. The question of 'race' was 'resolved' by employing only black staff members.

While certain differences amongst staff have not been openly acknowledged, others such as the differences in educational levels, skills and experience have been actively confronted. This has occurred, as described above, through structural arrangements such as the rotation of tasks, weekly staff meetings and fortnightly planning meetings. These structures have ensured that responsibility for certain administrative tasks has continued to be shared, although increasingly they have been done by those who are more office-bound. One of the reasons for Zakhe's active attempts to eliminate the educational and skills differences, is that from the outset the development of black leadership had been an important 'expressive' goal for the organisation. Learning by participation has been a taken-for-granted organisational strategy.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

On several occasions in the above discussion of Zakhe's organisational practices, references were made to the lack of congruence between the stated plans and the actual practices of the staff. This incongruence was particularly noticeable during 1982 and 1983 when the stated goals were to establish cooperatives, and the actual practice consisted of involvement with other organisations in community campaigns and the provision of services to community organisations. In early 1984 the staff had decided to acknowledge that they were no longer attempting to establish a cooperative movement, but were facilitating 'collective action'. As previously reported certain staff had found the lack of clarity between their stated goals and their practice debilitating in the execution of their work.

The reasons for the differences between the stated goals and the practices at that time are not immediately obvious. It is only possible to draw speculative conclusions from the evidence. One reason could relate to the developments in the external context. Another could relate to the tendency amongst staff to develop idealistic theoretical plans which were out of touch with actual conditions.

Zakhe was established soon after the State had banned the BC and other opposition organisations. There were very few community organisations active at that time with which it felt it could work. In 1980 Cape Town 'exploded' with community and worker action, which led to the emergence in the following two years of hundreds of new community organisations. Zakhe staff were keen to link into the nascent movement of radical organisations. 1982 and 1983 were dynamic, experimental years for the new community organisations. Zakhe struggled to relate its policy, which had been developed under different circumstances and for which funds from an overseas donor had been received, to changing conditions. By 1984, according to staff, they had obtained a significant amount of experience and self-confidence which allowed them to propose alternative plans which reflected their practice more accurately. Another possible reason for the incongruity between Zakhe's plans and practices, was the staff's acceptance of 'ideal-type' theoretical models of 'good' organisational practice. For example an organisational strategy was developed in accordance with a theoretical view of cooperative practice which staff believed should be propogated amongst co-op groups. The theoretical organisational model which was being proposed had not been developed from practice, neither had it been analysed in relation to the specific social and political circumstances which prevailed locally. Zakhe staff seemed to make the mistake of assuming that particular forms of organisational practice had a universal application which would inevitably contribute to a more 'progressive', egalitarian society. They were uncritically trying to apply an organisational concept which had developed in other historical times and places to the contemporary South African context. After struggling for five years to develop cooperatives, they finally changed tack by incorporating some of the cooperative ideals into providing services to facilitate 'collective action' amongst the new progressive organisations. The theory of cooperatives had acted as a 'material force', along with all the other factors elaborated above, to determine the practices within Zakhe.

The incongruence between theory and practice can be seen in another example taken from Zakhe's practices which relates to the question of specialisation. During 1982 and 1983 the participatory democratic principles according to which they were operating discouraged specialisation. However in reality specialisation was occurring all the time. In fact Zakhe's long term plans were developed with major input from 'specialists', i.e. those members with academic training. From 1980 Dave had played an important role as a conceptualiser of Zakhe's strategies.

The incongruity between theory and practice has hindered the sharing of responsibility to a degree within Zakhe. The position of the overall coordinator, described above, shows this most graphically.

THE TENSION BETWEEN ACTION AND REFLECTION

The tension between action and reflection was discussed above, and can be most clearly observed in the description of participation in planning and evaluation. Several illustrations have been given of the difficulty Zakhe staff have had maintaining internal organisational practices at times of heightened activity. Specialisation has tended to occur where some staff are more office-bound and others are 'in the field'. This division has frustrated efforts to share responsibility, as attempts to rotate the O. C. job have illustrated. The office-bound people have tended to retain a sense of the importance of process, while the fieldworkers have tended to become more task orientated in relation to other Zakhe staff. The importance of critical reflection and evaluation, has been recognised by all the staff, but it has proved difficult to provide an infrastructure to ensure that this is implemented consistently.

The 'action' component of the organisation's work has changed over time as was discussed above in relation to changing goals, strategies and structures. More recently the action has changed from the development of cooperatives to the involvement in more explicitly political action. The change in 1982 in the definition of 'action' indicated a change in relationships to external groupings, a change in strategies and with these a change in organisational structure.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ACCOUNTABILITY

Organisational practices in Zakhe have reflected different democratic theories at different times. The interpretation of democratic practice has been negotiated and contested continually. The emphasis given to internal or external accountability at different times has mirrored the democratic theories of the members at a particular historic 'moment'. The changing interpretations of democracy have also indicated changes in their strategies used to contribute to social change.

For example, during 1982 there was a climate which emphasised the notion of internal accountability amongst the staff members; this led to a focus of activity which would ensure the sharing of responsibility for the organisation. The participatory democratic practices were based on a cooperative structure – there was an attempt to develop a model of 'good' organisational practice and the goal was to propogate the cooperative ideals in a network of coooperatives and community organisations. Zakhe's goal was to achieve through ideological struggle a change in attitudes towards conventional, hierarchical organisational arrangements. Once members became involved in more explicitly political action, and joint projects were established with other organisations, accountability to external groupings became more important particularly for the staff directly involved. The organisational structure was changed to reflect accountability to 'important others'. A representative structure together with an internal participatory structure reflected these changes. But in practice a high degree of external accountability has detracted from the possibilities for internal accountability amongst staff members. As described above, there are different views amongst staff as to the relative importance of either internal or external accountability. These differences reflect different interpretations and emphases given to the competing democratic theories. The increased concern with external accountability also showed a change in understanding of social change. Zakhe had moved to join forces with the emergent 'progressive' political movement and sought change by supporting collective action. This 'move' demanded greater concern for external accountability.

MACRO CONTEXT

In the first section of the case study, evidence was led which showed the importance of the external context on the formation of the goals, structures and strategies within the organisation. Therefore the ability of the staff to share responsibility amongst one another for the management of Zakhe has been determined to a large degree by external circumstances at different points in its history. Through the discussion, in addition to the political, social, economic and biographical factors which have influenced the practices in Zakhe, recognition was also given to the impact of theory (in this instance the theory of cooperatives) as a material and determining force.

THEORETICAL KNOWLEDGE

Zakhe has developed theoretical understandings of its work and strategies most often in response to circumstance, through reflection on experience, or through a study of literature. One member enrolled in a formal university course to gain theoretical insights on the work. At particular points in its history the staff of Zakhe have had the opportunity, as with the preparation of the co-op initiators course or the in-service training course, to focus on the gaining of theoretical knowledge. In 1981 with the preparation of the course there was a clearer anti-capitalist perspective adopted in the theoretical sections.

As described above, action in response to circumstance rather than theoretical knowledge has usually predominated in the organisation. There has been a tendency in Zakhe as illustrated by the PR group for certain people to be more involved in action and others in theoretical analysis. Zakhe has found it difficult to maintain a balance between theory and practice, and between action and reflection. The participation of an outsider during the PR process did seem to help correct the balance to a degree for the duration of the project.

In Part Six the data will be discussed more fully in relation to the theoretical tools elaborated through discussions of Illich, Freire and Gramsci's writings. Judgements will be offered as to the usefulness of the tools for the analysis of self-education within community organisations.

Chapter Thirteen

CASE STUDY TWO CAREERS RESEARCH AND INFORMATION CENTRE (CRIC)

Research procedures

The data for the CRIC case study has been gathered in a number of ways. My association with the organisation goes back to before its establishment. I was the initial researcher and the first director of CRIC. I worked for CRIC for three years. I have continued to have informal contact with members of the organisation throughout its history, and am currently serving on the Board. This long association with CRIC will inevitably inform the study.

Permission to conduct research and to utilise CRIC as a case study was negotiated with staff in June 1984. During August 1984, indepth interviews were conducted with all the present staff, two previous members, and a member of the Board. I was a participant observer during three staff meetings. The organisation's documentation was also studied at this time.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MACRO AND MICRO ORGANISATIONAL CONTEXTS

In order to explore the relationship between the macro and micro contexts, the history of the organisation will be given, the members will be described, and the changing goals, structures and strategies from CRIC's inception will be analysed in order to identify any changes in the theory and practice of 'democracy' within the organisation.

Origins

CRIC developed as a result of economic, social and political conditions which characterised the mid-1970's, and which were elaborated earlier. The particularly significant conditions for CRIC's development were, on the one hand, the rapid social mobility amongst coloured people in the Western Cape, the apparent shortage of skilled manpower, rising unemployment, and the talk of a new political dispensation for coloured people through the setting up of the Theron Commission. On the other hand, there was a radicalisation of coloured students with the University of the Western Cape (UWC) providing a strong following for the BC organisation, SASO. It was the beginning of more active involvement by students in off-campus activities and the growth of community action. South African corporations began to call for reforms, and they began funding community organisations which could actively campaign for reforms. The State was proposing three new Welfare Bills, one of which was to control fundraising, particularly from overseas sources.

In August 1975, The Foundation for Social Development (FSD) was founded. It was linked to the Institute for Social Development (ISD) at UWC. It received a five year grant from the Chairman's Fund of the Anglo American Corporation (AAC). FSD's main aim was 'to channel funds received from sponsors and donors to be utilised for projects including research, assisting the socio-economic and cultural upliftment of the less privileged section of the community, particularly the coloured community of the Cape' (FSD Constitution). The range of projects which it initially established reveals the range of needs it was attempting to address. In general it was attempting 'to break the cycle of poverty through education, training and community development'. In addition, FSD was linked to UWC and was influenced by radical black opinion. UWC graduates who were exploring community work as a strategy for social change were amongst those employed to conduct research.

FSD was controlled by a Board of Trustees, who were prominent coloured and white academics and businessmen, and was directed initially, until his sudden deportation to Germany, by the Secretary of the Board, Prof. Wolfgang Thomas. Each researcher was directly responsible to him. An important emphasis of the work of ISD and FSD was community work. This was seen as the major focal area. Several of the researchers employed had community work training and were influenced by ideas and work gleaned from community work elsewhere. A book, which I remember being read avidly at the time and which was banned at the time in South Africa, was R. Bailey and M. Brake ed. 1975 *Radical Social Work* Britain: Arnold. In the introduction to the book the authors state that: 'Radical social work is essentially understanding the position of the oppressed in the context of the social and economic structure.... A socialist perspective is the most human approach for social workers' (p. 9). Later on (p. 17) they state that radical social work reaches 'for a position close to that expressed by Paulo Freire....' Paulo Freire's work clearly influenced the radical social and community workers who contributed to the book. He also influenced the community workers at FSD. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *Cultural Action for Freedom*, books banned in South Africa, were passed around clandestinely amongst the staff. I had been introduced to Freire's work in 1973 when working on a literacy project in Namibia; I actively encouraged people to become acquainted with his work. The first year of FSD's history was punctuated by the student revolt of 1976. Simultaneously, the squatter struggles at Modderdam, Unibell and Werksgenot, all areas adjacent to UWC, were in progress. ISD and FSD staff were involved in these struggles.

It was during the student revolt that the research into 'Careers Guidance and Occupational Choice' (a report under this title was published by FSD in Oct. 1976), was undertaken. I was the researcher, who was the driving force behind the establishment of CRIC and who became its first director. I, like many other liberal and radical whites at that time, was strongly opposed to the Apartheid policies. I was trained as a language teacher and had worked in adult literacy and language in Namibia. As inferred above, I was strongly influenced by Freire from 1973, and later in 1977 I came in contact and was very influenced by Illich's self-help, networking strategies. I was also influenced by the teachers and principals at ten of the schools under the Department of Coloured Affairs whom I interviewed during the initial research, and at the height of the student revolt.

After the first year of preliminary research activities, during which time FSD staff were located at ISD on the campus, they moved to offices in the coloured suburb of Athlone where they became a more clearly identifiable organisation. There were nine full-time and part-time staff working on different projects. In February 1977, Prof. Thomas, who had continued to direct operations, was deported by the Government. He asked two of the staff to take over as FSD's directors. I was one of them. During this time, there were two strands developing which led to CRIC's formation. On the one hand, two corporations, began to show interest in the idea of a careers information centre, and talks began on possibilities for funding through the Rector of UWC, Prof. van der Ross. On the other hand, a non-formal education /action research project was being undertaken, which included the running of an experimental 'careers awareness workshop'. Through this workshop, the possibilities for the using of the careers information as a way of 'conscientizing' students and teachers were explored (*Report* 7/5/77). Thus two divergent sets of interests were accommodated in the establishment of CRIC. Business saw CRIC as serving their ends by channelling the right employees to them, while I, the researcher, saw careers information as a vehicle for working with guidance teachers and students in order to challenge the existing status quo by promoting critical questioning of the education system and social system more broadly. The tension which existed between these two positions, and which reflected tensions within the macro context, has been at the centre of CRIC's operation and has determined to a large extent how CRIC has functioned.

Membership

CRIC started with three employees, all UCT graduates in their mid-twenties. There were two white women and one coloured male. In 1984, there were seven full-time staff. In its seven year history, sixteen people have worked full-time for CRIC: seven coloured, five white and four African; eleven women and five men; and twelve university graduates with four administrative staff who have completed a high school education. The ages of the workers have ranged from early twenties to early thirties and they have remained an average of three years at CRIC. The reasons for leaving were as follows: one left to start a careers centre in Soweto, one left to further her studies, four moved from Cape Town, one was fired and two left to co-ordinate other community organisations based in local working class townships. To date four staff have moved on to become directors or coordinators of other similar projects. CRIC, like some other community work agencies which we discussed in Part One, has provided a channel for upward career mobility which has been important particularly for the black community workers who have, until fairly recently, had few similar opportunities.

The CRIC staff has been composed of people from different class backgrounds. The majority of black staff originally came from working class homes, although at least two of the black staff had petty bourgeois backgrounds with their parents being teachers. The five white members all came from petty bourgeois homes.

Amongst the staff there were also religious and political differences. In 1982, out of a staff of seven there were three Muslim members. The remaining members were Protestants, agnostics or atheists.

The political differences in the broader Cape Town context have been reflected amongst staff. These were most clearly identifiable at the time of the formation of UDF and CAL. (This will be discussed later.) At this stage it is possible only to point out the different political influences on staff in very broad terms. One staff member had attended a NEUM dominated school; several of the black staff had been influenced by the BCM, and black and white staff had been exposed to the ideology of non-racialism. Non-racialism, as has been described in the previous chapter, had been promoted in the mid-1970s by both the liberals and the radicals in, forexample, the churches, the mosques and the English-speaking universities. By the late 1970s non-racialism was also being promoted inside the country through the reemergence of the ANC as a political force and the concomitant popularisation of the Congress tradition. Those in CRIC who supported non-racialism, it can be reasonably assumed, were influenced in different ways by these various liberal and radical views on non-racialism.

CRIC staff was composed of people from different class backgrounds, different educational levels (although three-quarters of the staff had university degrees), different race classification, different religious affiliation, and different gender.

The CRIC Board has had a total of fourteen members, excluding the staff representatives, serving the organisation in the last seven years. Nine of the members have been white, four coloured and one African. Nine, including all the black and the one female members, have been employed in senior positions within educational institutions, and five in senior personnel or management positions in major business corporations. Thirteen of the fourteen members were male. Up until 1985 the business representatives have held the portfolios of chairperson and vice-chairperson on the Board.

In 1985 a black academic, Prof. Jakes Gerwel, was elected as chairperson. This occurred at the time that the incumbent chairperson of the previous seven years retired. Several staff and some of the current Board felt strongly that it was time for CRIC to have a black chairperson, and preferably an educationalist. The Board had been dominated by the interests of the business people in the past, and they felt it was time for the educational aspects of CRIC's work to gain more attention. The Board had also been dominated by whites: while 70% of the staff have been black, 64% of the Board have been white.

Structures, goals and strategies

The structures, goals and strategies in CRIC have not changed markedly during the last seven years. The influence of the macro context on the micro organisational processes can therefore not only be analysed through a study of major organisational changes, as was the case with Zakhe. The influence of the macro context has also to be observed through an analysis of the dominant ideology in CRIC which has determined to a considerable degree the structures, strategies and goals.

The dominant ideology in CRIC has been made up of a number of strands some of which are similar to those which were described as being dominant in the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Background to these movements was given in Part Two. Some of these strandswere encapsulated within the works of Illich and Freire which, as described earlier, were very influential within the BCM and radical Christian groups. These in turn influenced the growth of community work in the early 1970s.

The ideological strands which are identifiable in CRIC include a belief: that people should be 'active in the world' with a 'community responsibility'; that critical thinking should be promoted which exposes the inequalities within the status quo; that all people have the potential to be leaders and therefore they should be given the opportunity to develop this potential; that information and skills should be shared in order to demystify and challenge the traditional power relations in society; that specialisation should be kept to a minimum; that low-cost, self-help approaches should be used whenever possible to solve problems; that a non-racial approach should be adopted, although greater attention should be given to the needs of blacks. These ideological strands which reflected the prevailing ethos amongst several community work agencies in the mid to late 1970s in Cape Town, will be illustrated in the discussion on the structures, goals and strategies of CRIC.

CRIC was initially structured in a traditional, hierarchical way, which reflected the classical, liberal, democratic organisational form. An Executive Committee was established which was composed of representatives of the academic and business worlds who were acceptable to the funders. The staff was represented by the director. Initially the Executive Committee fell under the FSD Board of Trustees.

An additional structure was an Advisory Committee which was made up of representatives from commerce and industry, and secondary and tertiary educational institutions. This structure I, as the then director of CRIC, based on Illich's networking strategy, which has as its underlying theoretical assumption, a consensus view of society. The Executive Committee met about four times a year, and the Advisory Committee twice a year. The director, who was also co-director of FSD, reported to the FSD Board about three times a year. The director was largely responsible for raising the funds needed.

The structures of FSD and CRIC did not go unchallenged by staff. Dissatisfaction was collectively expressed for the first time in 1978. At a staff meeting (*Minutes* 1/11/78) people expressed the view that people doing the work should have more say in the management of the organisation:

> FSD as an organisation should reflect the work being done. All the FSD projects try and promote participation and sharing amongst people. They all promote the development of community organisations where people themselves manage their own affairs.

As can be seen from this quote, staff were against the imposition of leadership and direction on themselves or on others. They saw 'good' organisational practice as allowing people to govern themselves. The dissatisfaction culminated in a staff evaluation of the organisation's structure with the help of an outside consultant. The outcome was a proposal for an alternative structure which allowed greater staff say by including greater project autonomy with structured inter-project linkages, and greater staff representation on a controlling Board. During 1979, FSD staff, simultaneously while working towards a new constitution, experimented with alternative internal structures. Projects were acknowledged to be autonomous, while co-ordinating inter-project teams, which involved as many staff as possible, were set up for housekeeping, budgeting and administration. There was an acknowledgement of both the need for representative and participatory forms of organisation. The structures were to facilitate communication between all the staff and between the projects. These structures however were never fully implemented, as the major funder in consultation with the FSD Board decided to withdraw the funding from one of the three projects.

The main reason for the withdrawal of funds was given by the FSD Board at the time, as the unacceptable attitude of the project coordinator to FSD control. The Board believed that the coordinator did not want to be accountable to them, but wanted to be autonomous. They said that they agreed 'to give the staff member the autonomy which she wanted'. (*Minutes* 30/7/79) The staff member concerned had been one of the most vociferous propounders of a new structure for FSD. She was coordinator of the Non-Formal Education Project, which was the only one of the three projects that was not represented directly at FSD Board meetings. The Community Work and CRIC projects were represented by the two co-directors of FSD who were also coordinators of the respective projects. Amongst some of the staff accountability to anyone other than themselves was seen as unnecessary.

Thestaff members' general understanding ofthe expulsion of the NFE project from FSD was that the person involved was seen by the Board and the funders as a 'trouble-maker'. The person concerned was, at the time of her expulsion from FSD, working with the Zakhe committee. Soon thereafter she began working full- time for Zakhe as their first coordinator. At this stage the other FSD projects, CRIC and Community Work, decided to move towards a complete separation from one another. CRIC formally became an independent organisation with its own constitution in 1980.

The CRIC constitution was determined by its two-and-a-half year history. It allowed for a Board of between eight and eleven to be comprised of people from the primary CRIC constituents i. e. sponsors, teachers and any other interested people. The business representatives on the Board were to fill the positions of chair and vice-chairperson. The director was on the board ex-officio plus one additional elected staff representative. The director had managed to extend staff representation on the controlling board to two. In the eyes of some of the Board full membership by a staff member was not customary practice. They were therefore wary of this development, and on occasion the rights of the staff member to participate in decision-making has been questioned. The Advisory Committee became moribund.

Ongoing struggles for greater staff say in decision-making have occurred in CRIC, but they have not involved challenges to the constitutional structures. Internally, the struggles have been around the conception, the aims and the implementation of a participatory system, which has attempted to challenge the director's authority. There have been struggles over salaries and a participatory method of deciding on them, over the source of funding particularly in relation to the Urban Foundation, over the appointment of the director, and over the role of CRIC.

The participatory system which has evolved in CRIC amongst staff has been influenced by the external context to a certain extent. It was during 1982, the time that 'democracy' was being debated within the wide range of new community organsations in Cape Town, that the staff were challenging CRIC's goals and its internal practices most vociferously. A detailed description will be given later of some of these struggles and their relationship to the broader context.

The service or instrumental goals of CRIC were stated in its first public document (August 1977), as follows:

It would aim to provide:

- A direct advice service with referrals to more specialised institutions
- A resource centre with updated information on training and career opportunities which is accessible to anyone
- Dissemination of such materials by preparing printed and audiovisual aids which will be at the disposal of those active in the field

- Help with supplementary training of persons/groups active in this sphere

The establishment of close links between institutions, bodies and persons so that persons and groups are encouraged and assisted to tackle common problems e.g. problems relating to early school leavers, transition from school to work, unemployment.

CRIC has established its services in line with these aims. The backbone of the CRIC operation has been its counselling and information service. It has developed a data bank of study and career related material. It has collated and disseminated information which has been distributed primarily through the careers information file which has been available to subscribers. There were nearly a thousand subscribers in 1984. One staff member has been the information co-ordinator, who has responsibility for achieving the goals set for this area of work. She has worked closely with the counselling co-ordinator who has counselled the majority of clients who come each day. There were a total of 1120 counselling interviews during 1983. The counselling co-ordinator also has managed the university student-counsellors who have assisted with counselling and with the answering of the almost 2000 letters that arrive each year. Together, the information co-ordinator, the counselling co-ordinator and receptionist have formed the 'counselling team' who have been responsible for this work.

Both the Careers Information File and the counselling service, were established with the idea of making information as accessible as possible to the pupils and teachers, particularly in the black schools. The influence of Illich's ideas are most visible in this area of CRIC's work. The file was developed after extensive consultation with teachers from thirty-six schools in Cape Town. CRIC was to act as a catalyst for the exchange of information, for the sharing of skills, and ideas for the guidance classroom. It played down its role as 'expert'. It encouraged teachers to contribute to the information collection and dissemination. It emphasised low-cost, self-help approaches to the collection and dissemination of information. (Its approach was recorded in the minutes of meetings with teachers in Feb. and Mar. 1978) For example, CRIC developed an information network of people in places of work who were prepared to be consulted by pupils and teachers on the pros and cons of their jobs. Pupils and teachers were encouraged to visit the people at their places of work and so gain ready access to a wide range of career information. In the 1978 annual report it stated that:

> A central task is to help people find, sort, digest, and utilize careers information so that they can control where they are going....

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It seems that staff believed that by making information more readily accessible to all people, people would be in a better position to determine their own futures. They also believed that by making information concerning the inequalities in the society more available, it would encourage people to agitate for change. Therefore the running of 'careers awareness workshops' for high school students, staff believed, was one of their most important functions. The workshops were for several of the staff CRIC's raison d'etre as they were concerned with the process of political consciousness-raising.

The workshops were run during each school holiday for groups of between forty and fifty pupils from all the Education Departments, over a five day period. These workshops stressed an informal, dialogical approach which encouraged 'the learners' to become 'the teachers'. The aim was 'to develop independent critical thinking' through debates, experiential learning situations, street interviews and theoretical input. The theory to which people were exposed has been eclectic it has been anti-racist, sensitive to ecological issues, humanistic and at times anti-capitalist. (See for example the notes of the first workshop April 1977.) After the workshops pupils have been encouraged to share what they have learnt with others at school, and some pupils have established 'information depots' and 'careers clubs'. Evaluation of the workshops by the participants has also been integrated into the programme, and on occasion, participants have returned after three months to reflect on their own development and their plans for the future. Many of these approaches have been incorporated into other CRIC programmes with pupils, such as Future-Link, which is a work-experience programme.

Work with teachers has also been seen as vitally important. Here too, the approach has been to encourage dialogue and sharing of expertise. High schools have been visited regularly to ascertain the needs of teachers, meetings have been coordinated amongst schools in an area, and periodic workshops have been coordinated. These have either been run by CRIC in conjuction with a group of local teachers, or a specialist in a particular field has led the session. Recently a rural project has been established with a Mobile Education Unit to service schools in outlying areas.

There has been a co-ordinator for work with teachers in the urban areas, and one responsible for rural areas. They have taken responsibility for the making and maintaining of contacts with schools. In addition, they have coordinated requests for assistance which has come from a wide range of community organisations, youth groups and others. (See *Annual Reports*)

Teachers have responded to CRIC in a number of ways over the years. Such responses often reflect the different political divisions to be found in Cape Town. The majority of teachers, judging from the responses to the range of services over the years, seem to have found CRIC useful. The NEUM teachers, who have had a dominant influence in certain of the Department of Coloured Affairs (now the Department of Education and Culture) schools, initially adopted a 'non-collaborationist' stance, as CRIC received money from the Urban Foundation. Since 1980, the time at which CRIC severed its relationship with the Urban Foundation, it appears that most of the teachers have utilised the services when the need has arisen.

CRIC has been centrally concerned with the development of the potential of individuals. In the counselling, in the workshops and in the retrieval of information, the individual is encouraged to become a critical 'actor in the world'. For example, one of the aims of the first workshop was:

> To develop self-awareness in order to make people aware of their full potential as persons, and help them to realise the need to think about work, society and what their part in it is or could be.

The assumption underlying this approach has been that social change will be brought about through the changing of the political consciousness of individuals. The ideological strands which have permeated CRIC's practices, and the assumptions about social change have much in common with those reflected in the early work of Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich. CRIC's staff, as with the teachers/coordinators in the writings of Freire and Illich, were against imposing their views on others; each participant in an activity was assumed to be an equal. The superiority of knowledge was not easily acknowledged. I recall the attitude of staff to the lecture format; the lecture was seen as a conservative educational practice, the workshop as radical. In this way particular educational practices were reified and particular theories, used in an ahistorical way, were influential in the determination of CRIC's educational practices.

CRIC saw the promotion of non-racialism as an important goal. Through both the content and the process of its work it challenged the Apartheid ideology. For example, it has challenged the Apartheid structures, values and norms through its workshops with students and teachers, and through its counselling and information services; it has adopted an affirmative action policy in its employment practices by giving preference to black candidates for jobs; it stated from the beginning that it was:

> a non-racial, non-profitmaking organisation. It is non-racial in its approach, although greater emphasis falls on the poorer communities which are predominantly black.
> (1978 *Annual Report*)

The printed information that they produced was the first non-racial careers information in South Africa.

In summary

In this section the influence of external historical, economic, political and ideological forces on internal practices within CRIC has been demonstrated through a discussion of the history of CRIC, a description of the membership, a discussion of the theoretical influences and a discussion of the goals, strategies and structures of the organisation. Conflicting interests within the organisation which demonstrated competing views on democratic theory between those of the business community and the staff were mentioned. Further illustrations of the influence of the macro context on CRIC's practices will be given particularly in the section on internal and external accountability.

INTERNAL PROCESSES SHARING RESPONSIBILITY

Participation in decision-making

As previously discussed, within CRIC there is an historic tension between the business and the staff interests. These differentinterests are manifest in the different organisational forms and practices of the staff on one hand, and the Board on the other. The Board had been established according to a liberal democratic code where representatives of particular constituencies, in this case the business community and education, 'protect the interests of their constituencies'. Amongst the staff from the beginning there has been a tendency towards the achievement of internal participatory democracy. This tendency was linked to one of CRIC's expressive goals, as opposed to its instrumental goals, which was to develop the potential of all the individuals in CRIC (*Annual Evaluation* 1978).

In analysing participation in decision-making in CRIC the contrasting organisational practices in the external Board and the internal staff structure, and the relationship between the two, provide an important focus. The two organisational forms represent a conflict of interests in CRIC. In this section policy decision-making, which is the responsibility of the Board, will be analysed by focusing on three critical incidents as illustrations of actual decision-making practice. These examples will illustrate the various conflicts of interest and the struggles that have sometimes occurred over key decisions in CRIC.

Decision-making formally occurs at three levels. The Board officially is responsible for decisions concerning policy, funding, employment conditions, and hiring and firing of staff. The weekly staff meetings decide on service and staff related issues, and the work teams decide on specific day to day work decisions. The director and staff representative on the Board, who is elected annually by the staff, are the official links between the Board and staff. The director is finally accountable to the Board for the total operation. As the following examples will show, decision-making within the organisation has in reality not occurred in this way.

The first example concerns one of CRIC's more controversial funders, the Urban Foundation. CRIC has over thirty different major and minor sponsors. They are predominantly business corporations, but also include trust funds and international funding agencies. The director is largely responsible for fund- raising with some assistance from Board members. The decisions as to whom should be approached for funds are left for the most part to the director. However, the Urban Foundation has been an ongoing source of conflict between the staff and the Board. It was one of CRIC's funders for the first three years, after which time staff refused any further sponsorship.

The establishment of the Urban Foundation, in the wake of the 1976 revolt, has already been discussed in Part Three. Its establishment drew many hostile responses from certain of the more radical community organisations who argued that it was trying to ameliorate the situation within the framework of the political status quo rather than trying to promote fundamental change. Soon community organisations began to be distinguished by radical groups according to those who did or did not take funds from the Urban Foundation. The CRIC fieldworker, in particular, found that a substantial amount of his time in the field was spent rationalising why CRIC had accepted Urban Foundation funding. Increasingly staff realised that if the organisation was to have credibility with a broad spectrum of black pupils and teachers, it would need to find alternative funds. The situation was particularly clear during the 1980 school boycotts, where pupils had drawn on CRIC's resources for their alternative programs in the early part of the boycott, but once the boycott became more explicitly political, organisations were scrutinised, and rejected if they had undesirable links with the 'system'. The Urban Foundation was identified as such a link and this caused serious problems for CRIC's functioning (*Board Minutes* 20/10/80). Politicization of pupils had occurred on a wide scale during the boycott which led to a more discriminating use of external resources. By October 1980, the Urban Foundation's three year commitment ended and the staff did not want it extended. Most of the members of the CRIC Board did not agree with the position taken by the staff.

The Urban Foundation issue has been one of the few that has led to direct confrontation between the staff and the Board. Whenever there has been a hint of a financial crisis in CRIC one of the Board members has raised the issue. The Urban Foundation issue has been minuted in seven Board meetings in the last four years. The stage was reached where besides the staff representative arguing the staff's case to the Board, several of the individual staff members resolved to resign if the sponsorship was accepted (Interviews 21/8/84; 28/8/84). In the last minuted discussion on this issue in the Board, the Chairperson stated that, 'The Board had always been responsive to the concerns of the staff over this issue and that forcing the will of the Board on the staff would be counter-productive' (*Minutes* April 1984). The staff thus succeeded in their attempt to effect a major policy decision. The second example of staff participation and struggle over policy decisions, concerns the appointment of the director in 1981. A procedure for hiring full-time staff was developed in 1978 with the first new appointment. The procedure was developed by the three staff members and it involved three interviews with each applicant, by all the staff. The appointment of new full-time staff was taken very seriously by incumbent staff. Once staff had made their decision about an appointment they presented it to the Board through the director for formal ratification.

In September 1981, there was a crisis in the organisation when these procedures were not followed. When the incumbent director was planning to resign from his post, he informed the Board, but not the staff. He then advertised his position and began negotiating with someone whom he considered to be a suitable replacement. Staff only heard 'when he'd nearly appointed the guy' (Interview 8/8/84). There was a strong, angry reaction from most of the staff who wanted someone from their own ranks to be appointed to the position. Members of staff began meeting on their own to try and resolve the issue. The Board had set up a committee of three to interview applicants. The committee consisted of the director, the chairperson of the Board and an additional Board member. Staff wanted to influence the committee's decision but only had access to the Board through the director. Staff invited an outside consultant to help them work through possible strategies.

They resolved to set up their own interviewing procedures and then to make their recommendations known to the Board. They decided on criteria for the appointment. There were two potential candidates for the job. One was from the staff and the other was from Johannesburg. The incumbent director who had been away on leave, returned to be told by staff that they wanted to be consulted over the appointment, and that they wanted to meet with the chairperson before the interviews to tell him of their criteria for the position.

Staff interviewed both candidates. The present director recalled (Interview 11/8/84):

> Staff interviewed me. They were concerned with power – would I believe in consultation and do it? All staff asked me questions. The secretary asked me about administration, order and filing. In the interview we clarified quite a lot. I said it's not a true democracy because, as director, I'm finally accountable. At times I may go against the staff.

Staff found that their request to speak with the chairperson of the Board beforehand was ignored. The director informed them at a meeting the next day that 'their candidate' had been appointed. However, key staff did not feel that they had won. Most of them were fighting for the principle of consultation, not for a particular candidate. This they felt the Board had not understood. One of the staff who did not initially feel strongly about the lack of consultation, was the secretary. She explained:

> For me with my background, it didn't really matter who made the decisions coming from industry I didn't expect to be involved. I could understand their feelings, because to me it seemed more logical to appoint a staff member.... But with all the anger, I really started thinking.... I didn't feel such anger when he didn't consult, until it became an issue with all the staff.... If it happened now I'd be angry. Now I'm part of it....
> (Interview 17/8/84).

The power and influence of the director in decision-making was realised by most staff members. They had realised that they needed consciously to develop strategies to counter the director's influence in decision-making. The members who were most involved in the struggle over the director's appointment, were the fieldworkers and the counsellor. The administrative staff did not participate as fully. However it seems that they began to learn about 'their right to participate' through this incident.

The third example of staff participation in policy making, concerns a struggle over salaries in 1982. This example also demonstrates several of the inherent tensions within the organisation.

Salaries in CRIC had been set initially according to FSD scales which were decided by the Secretary of the FSD Board. The Board usually gave annual salary increases. Staff had little say in the decisions. The business ethic was applied on the Board which presumed that salaries should not be discussed by or with the staff. Once the new director, who was accepted by the staff on a the understanding that she would give maximum control to the staff, took over in early 1982, she believed that salaries should be decided by the staff. Thus began a protracted period of internal meetings and negotiations. Not all the staff were equally involved. One member said that she had accepted a drop in salary to work at CRIC, so she could not get involved in fighting for more pay. The three staff most involved were the two black, male fieldworkers who were the main bread winners in their families, and the white, female director who had no dependants.

All the staff worked out criteria for salaries. It was a long and arduous process which most staff were engaging in for the first time. Consensus could not be reached between the director and the two fieldworkers. Therefore they resolved that the two alternative proposals should be presented to the Board for a decision. In the process, the two fieldworkers, who were arguing for higher salaries, had apparently come to see the director as a barrier to their progress. They believed that because she was a white female who had no dependants, she could choose to have a relatively low salary (Interviews 8/8/84 and 28/8/84). They both felt pressure to supply adequately for their growing families.

At the Board meeting both the director and the two fieldworkers presented their arguments. The meeting was rushed. The two fieldworkers described the meeting as very unsatisfactory. At one point they recalled how the director had questioned their statistics; the questioning they believed had shown them in a poor light. They resented this. The director also expressed dissatisfaction. She was fighting to lessen the salary gap between herself and other staff. It was a matter of principle. In the end the Board resolved the dispute by splitting the difference, and agreeing to a salary scale midway between the two proposals. The director was unhappy because she had ended up with a salary that increased rather than lessened the gap between her salary and the salary of other staff.

The fieldworkers both described the dispute over salaries as a watershed time at CRIC. The one fieldworker said that he had left the meeting saying to himself: 'I'm finished with CRIC. ' Within three months he did resign from the organisation. The other fieldworker resigned nine months later. The salaries issue did not necessarily cause the resignation by the two staff, however from the evidence it did seem to increase their feelings of dissatisfaction with the organisation.

The conflict over the salaries appeared to be a traumatic experience especially for the three central players. The director at the time did not realise the effect that the conflict had had on the two staff members. One of the fieldworkers said that he realised what little power staff actually had in decision-making. He therefore lost interest in his portfolio as staff representative on the Board and in his work.

Race classification had become a more openly divisive issue for the staff at the time of the salaries issue. The director, in retrospect, sees the struggle over salaries, as a watershed time in the organisation, where: 'The non-racial ethos that had been more prevalent began to fade', and 'it gave way to more clearly defined black and white camps'. The two staff left CRIC for lower salaries and to be co-ordinators of projects based in the coloured and African townships. There was clearly much more involved in the confrontation than just salaries. One possible influence on the internal conflict could be the developments within the broader Cape Town context at this time in early 1983: the formation of UDF and CAL were underway, and integral to these developments were the debates concerning the role of whites in the struggle for social transformation. Both fieldworkers had historic links with the BC and NEUM tendencies.

A positive outcome of the salary conflict identified by three staff, was the breaking of the taboo around salaries. Since then staff have discussed salaries amongst themselves and they have an accepted set of criteria and a procedure which they use to make recommendations through the director to the Board. Procedures have also been developed which attempt to curb the director's authority. However, one staff member acknowledged that the memory of the conflict generated around the salaries dispute amongst staff would possibly make anyone very wary of challenging salary scales again in a hurry (Interview 21/8/84).

Through the conflicts, various lessons appear to have been learnt by staff. Some staff have learnt about power in the organisation, and strategies to increase their own power and influence. Since the appointment of the director in 1982, structures and procedures have been developed within the staff in order to try and counter the power of the director. However, key staff members acknowledge that structures and involvement in administrative issues like fund-raising and appointments are not enough. There has to be continual vigilance if staff are to have much say in what happens. The two staff members who left the organisation became disillusioned with the possibilities for staff to influence decisions. They felt that in the final analysis it is the Board and the director who held the power.

The illustrations of struggles over the making of key policy decisions reveal several features of participation in decision-making in CRIC. Firstly, staff have actively participated in the decisions of the Board through their official representatives and through the successful use of more confrontational strategies. Secondly the illustrations reveal that there are different and conflicting interest groups at different times in operation in CRIC. For example, in the first incident the staff including the director opposed the Board; in the second incident the staff opposed the director and the Board; and in the third incident a sub-group of the staff, two black male fieldworkers, opposed the white female director. The struggles have highlighted conflict in the organisation and this has led to procedural innovations in CRIC.

The struggles have also had different effects on the levels of participation of staff in the organisation. On the one hand the two fieldworkers became disillusioned with staff's ability to effect decisions, and they eventually left CRIC. On the other hand the administrative staff who were usually least active in decision-making have become more active and assertive.

Participating in planning and evaluation

An analysis of planning and evaluation in CRIC shows a structured and disciplined approach to action and reflection, which is integrated into the ongoing functioning of the organisation.

Collective planning and evaluation have been central processes in CRIC. A major motivating factor was the first director's commitment to staff development. She believed that the personal growth and development of each of CRIC's staff members was an important 'expressive' goal for the organisation. The process of organisational management, she believed, was important to the attainment of that goal. Therefore planning and evaluation were seen as essential elements to achieve this. Another motivating factor was the pragmatic belief that a 'democratic management style' was the most effective for the achievement of organisational goals.

Internally, amongst the small staff, the norm was established for consultation and the sharing of information. Staff functions were interdependent, therefore regular staff meetings were held to structure reports back, to pass on information, and to take decisions. The structure was extended further with the increase in staff to include team meetings. In a document of 3 September 1983, communication between members was described as follows:

> Issues relating to teams are discussed at team meetings and a report-back for the whole staff at weekly staff meetings, otherwise issues relating to the whole organisation are discussed at staff meetings.... The Board has quarterly meetings during which time the director and the staff representative will give them a report on what staff has done in different areas of their work. Other information flows constantly amongst staff e.g. papers, proposals and reports. This is done to (hopefully) make staff more involved in all these documents, decisions and add their comments. This also gives background for when a decision has to be made.

The weekly staff meeting of all the staff, and the regular team meetings of different sub-groups, appear to be important for the development of a supportive climate for staff in the organisation. The teams are constructed in such a way as to allow different people the opportunity of working with one another at different times.

The annual evaluatio. has always been taken seriously, with two weeks to a month being set aside for all staff to participatein the process of evaluating past performance, and setting the plans for the next year. The aim has been to encourage the sharing of responsibility for the direction of the organisation amongst the staff. As stated in a document on Aims and Objectives (Dec. 1979):

> [The aim of the evaluation] was the reassessment of the organisation and the formulation of future goals by staff and possibly other involved parties, so that staff collectively and individually set out objectives for themselves, which are in tune with current social, economic, and political developments in the country.

The form that the annual evaluation has taken is that each staff member produces a plan for the year specifying their objectives. These are discussed and approved by all the staff. These plans provided the basis for accountability at monthly assessment meetings and weekly staff meetings. The annual evaluation sessions have been developed and have become more systematised over time. In the 1983 evaluation, individual performance appraisal forms were used which included self-evaluation, appraisal by one other staff member, and appraisal by the group as a whole. All staff, including the director, had to account for their performance both in terms of their individual work and their general involvement in the overall operation. A co-ordinator has been elected by the staff to oversee each annual evaluation since 1982. Chairpersons are also elected for individual sessions. The rotation of the chairing of sessions amongst all staff also occurs at the quarterly evaluations which have been introduced since 1983. Agendas for the evaluations are drawn up by the entire staff. Each person has to give a report to the group. In this way evaluation sessions are structured to try and ensure greater participation by all staff, and to ensure that the director (or another key person) does not dominate the proceedings.

There is an ongoing integrated process of action and reflection within CRIC. Structured planning and evaluation occur throughout the year in weekly staff meetings, in quarterly evaluations, in team meetings and in the major annual evaluation. In the interviews with seven members of staff various observations were made concerning the structured evaluative processes.

All members believed that their ability to plan their work had improved substantially because of the structured approach to planning and evaluation. Evaluation sessions had helped them gain an overall perspective on the total CRIC operation. This had helped in the formulation of their own area of work. Three members expressed specifically that being responsible for a defined area of work had also contributed to their ability to participate more actively in both the planning and evaluation processes.

The strategies used in the evaluations also drew specific comment from staff. Six members commented on the importance of the questioning and challenging of their work by both staff and invited outsiders. This they believed helped them develop a critical approach to their work. The importance of the development of the skills to succesfully question and confront others was mentioned specifically by both administrative staff. All staff spoke about the importance of the structured evaluation sessions. They said that the more they had become integrated into CRIC, the more they realised the importance of full participation in the planning and evaluation. On average, staff felt that it had taken them about two years to feel fully integrated into the organisation.

The emphasis on planning and evaluation has been substantial from CRIC's establishment. This emphasis has been consistent with the commitment to the personal growth and development of all staff. Through the regular planning and evaluation staff have shared responsibility for the management of different aspects of the organisation.

Sharing information and skills

JOB SPECIALISATION, JOB ROTATION AND EFFICIENCY

CRIC provides specialised services which require certain expertise. People are employed for a specialist function, like secretary, counsellor, fieldworker or information officer. The majority of staff are highly qualified with university degrees. But, while people have a primary area of expertise, there has been a degree of task sharing. For example, all staff are required to do some counselling, and the training function has also been shared.

Workshops particularly for students have been run by all the staff, except the secretaries. As part of new staff's induction into the organization, time has to be spent in information, counselling and fieldwork. The secretarial staff have spent less time in other portfolios. The chairing of staff meetings, the recording of minutes and the co-ordination of teams are rotated amongst all staff.

The opportunities for greater job rotation or task sharing are limited in CRIC by its specialised functions. They are also limited by the standards of service that have been set. From the outset one of CRIC's goals was stated to be the achievement of an 'effective and efficient service'. On the one hand the sponsors from private enterprise had to be satisfied with the standard of CRIC's services and products, if funding was to be attracted. On the other hand, given the politically volatile climate in Cape Town, CRIC believed that it could win a degree of credibility from a wide range of individuals and organisations, regardless of political ideologies, if it provided a relevant and efficient service.

NONFORMAL EDUCATION

The self-education of staff has occurred through both the informal processes which are integral to the organisation, and through nonformal education programmes. The non-formalprogrammes, which have been open to all staff, have included for example, a counselling skills workshop, a communications course, a monthly Journal Club, Zakhe's 'Self-Management Workshop', programmes on creative thinking, facilitation skills, questioning skills, a'Lifeskills' workshop, plus other ad hoc conferences and courses which have been attended by some members. The skills and insights learnt through these programmes generally have been seen as positive by staff.

A programme of staff development is collectively decided on at the annual evaluation. Many of the arranged programmes have concentrated on process skills, rather than theory. Some speculative reasons for this could be, given the specialist functions in CRIC and the wide gap between the educational background of administrative staff and others, the process issues are the ones common to all the staff's experiences. 'Process' is equally accessible to all staff regardless of educational background. In addition several staff have enrolled for further education qualifications, with four having enrolled for the Adult Education Diploma at UCT, therefore they may get theory elsewhere. Another reason could be that the turn over of staff aproximately every three years, militates against the accumulation of both practical and theoretical experience, with the implication that new people joining CRIC, who have little experience in a participatory, democratic organisation, therefore concentrate on the processes which this approach highlights.

Accountability – internal and external

An investigation of accountability in CRIC reveals a concentration on internal accountability amongst the staff members. External accountability has been most consistently directed to the sponsors. External accountability had become a controversial issue in 1982.

The issue of accountability had become important within the new, radical, worker and community organizations by 1982. Within organizations there was a critical questioning of the accountability of organizations; an example given earlier described the issue in relation to the meat boycott. Some agencies like Zakhe were going to great lengths to obtain credibility from the radical community organizations. CRIC staff, particularly the fieldworkers and the director, were being asked about CRIC's position and allegiances. Within the staff in late 1982 and early 1983, members were asking themselves the question: 'To whom are we accountable?' The discussion of accountability in CRIC will cover accountability to sponsors; to teachers, students and community organisations; and to other staff members.

Accountability to CRIC's sponsors, who have mainly been business corporations, was built into the structure from the outset. Representatives from the three initial sponsors became members of the first Executive Committee (later known as the Board), and one of them, a Personnel Director of a major multinational corporation, has chaired the Board for seven years. Only very recently has the situation changed with the appointment of a leading black academic to the position.

The Board, has been concerned mainly with fund-raising, and with employment conditions. Various fund-raising strategies have been developed and executed with the help of the sponsor companies. Sponsorship has been given for specific periods of time, usually three to five years, and it has been renewed by sponsors who have felt satisfied with CRIC's progress. To date, CRIC has over thirty sponsors to meet its costs of over R100 000 per annum. CRIC has had access through its sponsors to a range of resources and expertise.

On occasion, explicit pressure has come from the business community, in one way or another, for CRIC to conform to their expectations. One example will be given to illustrate this.

In 1980, during the school boycotts, CRIC published a poster which documented the major events, and which raised questions about the implications of the boycott for the teaching of Guidance. The poster was widely distributed and welcomed by many teachers and students alike. A letter received from a local employers' association expressed displeasure at CRIC's 'School Boycott' poster. The relationship between Guidance and the school boycott was not appreciated the secretary of the employers' association issued a veiled warning to CRIC:

> I am concerned that any divergence from the Centre's basic objectives into what is essentially a political field may discourage business support, at the very time when the Centre is gaining recognition and acceptance.

The pressure to conform to business requests has come in various informal and formal ways.

More recently CRIC has begun to attract funding from international funding organizations. The rural project has been funded from this source. Some embassies have begun to consult CRIC, and development aid organizations have been directed to CRIC. It appears that CRIC has been identified as a suitable organization because: 'It is not too radical, but radical enough ' (Interview 21/8/84). Accountability to these funders has occurred so far through ad hoc meetings and reports. They have not been represented directly on the Board. The funders in the case of the rural project have determined CRIC's focus in this area. A potential problem with these new funders was identified in an interview with an educationist, who is a Board member (16/8/84). He elaborated:

> A problem perhaps is that CRIC has established a reputation amongst development funders ... 'you come with us and we'll buy into your credibility' approach. The risk is that CRIC's direction is determined externally and it disconnects with its base constituents.

CRIC staff in a recent evaluation (August 1984) acknowledged their dependence on business as their funders, and the major contradictions this has always posed for the organization. Throughout CRIC's history, there has been a constant struggle to steer a course through the needs of business on the one hand and the black schools on the other. An example of the different needs and expectations is illustrated in the very different responses to the School Boycott Poster. CRIC staff have demonstrated that they are far more sympathetic to the needs of the pupils and teachers, than to business.

The staff have ambivalent views of the Board, and these have been most clearly seen in discussions on the composition of the Board. On one hand certain staff, particularly the black fieldworkers, have been very critical of the influence of businessmen on the Board, and on the other hand, when needing increased funding, they have spoken about the need to invite more people from business onto the Board. The director has in the last year urged more participation by Board members in fund-raising, while simultaneously wanting CRIC's services to be more relevant to radical community groups. It would seem that, if the organisation was to be able to work more closely with radical groups, it would rather need to try and distance the Board from the operation; or change the balance within the Board, so that there are more members, sympathetic to the staff's priorities. These points will be elaborated later.

Teachers, pupils and various community organisations, have been the primary focus for CRIC's work. The form of accountability to teachers has changed over time. Initially, it occurred through regular meetings, consultations and joint projects. Limited accountability was built into the the structure with the new constitution in 1980. Two teachers joined the Board at that time. Meetings continued in 1981 but teachers were less responsive to them. CRIC kept in touch with them mainly through regular individual visits to schools, and ad hoc projects and programmes. The extent of consultation with teachers had decreased substantially by 1983 and 1984 partly due to staff shortages because of financial constraints. The availability of funds for a rural project has determined CRIC's thrust into this area. Formal accountability to teachers has been very limited with one teacher at present serving on the Board. Informally accountability has occurred through joint project committees, ad hoc consultations and meetings. Accountability to students has occurred informally, through its counselling, information services and careers workshops. Evaluation of workshops has been built into each, and evaluation meetings have been arranged. An extensive evaluation of the counselling service occurred when a questionnaire was sent to over six hundred clients in 1978 and an evaluation of the information file also occurred around this time. In 1978 and 1979, students from four schools, who had attended workshops, established careers clubs at their schools. CRIC staff acted as consultants. Students were also incorporated into two teachers workshops during 1979 and 1980 in order to encourage teachers to listen and learn from students. The relationship with students deteriorated for a short while during the school boycotts, although initially students used CRIC as a resource for their awareness programmes, and certain students sought refuge at CRIC when in trouble.

CRIC's services have also been used by students through their membership of youth organizations. CRIC has responded to their requests. During 1983 and 1984, requests for assistance included ones from COSAS and CAYCO, radical umbrella organizations for students and youth groups. These have usually been one-off events so accountability has been limited. In the development of the Future-Link project, students have been consulted substantially on its form and effectiveness.

Accountability to community organizations has occurred to a limited extent through the provision of services, through long standing contact and cooperation with community work agencies, and through staff membership of organizations. It has also been aligned to other community organizations through its commitment to social change, however this commitment has never been elaborated beyond an anti-apartheid and non-racial stand.

During 1981 and 1982, careers centres similar in some respects to CRIC were established and developed in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Soweto and Durban. CRIC was committed to sharing its experience and expertise with the new organizations, and several of the centres have sent staff to CRIC for training. Since 1982 a sponsor has funded regular meetings between the centres to facilitate co-ordination of information production and the sharing of ideas. There is no formal accountability at this stage.

In 1982, as previously mentioned, radical community activists were asking questions about the allegiance of community organizations. They were approaching resource agencies for assistance. This was in contrast to previous policy of many radical activists who had adopted the 'non-collaborationist' policy which was prevalent in Cape Town. Organizations like COSAS and CAYCO invited CRIC to run programmes, *Grassroots Newsletter* asked CRIC to help produce articles, and four radical activists from both the UDF and CAL camps offered to work on specific projects at CRIC in 1983 (Interview 21/8/84).

Some of the CRIC staff aligned themselves with UDF. At the time of the launching of UDF, most staff attended the rally. UDF posters were displayed at CRIC for a time. One of the staff who had adopted a black consciousness position was less enthusiastic. Another was a member of a CAL-affiliated civic. Three of the staff were not involved in these political developments at all. One of the staff was a member of UWO. CRIC discussed its relationship to UDF. The staff decided that they could not be affiliated to UDF, because of the differing staff positions, because of the constraints posed by sponsors, and because of the need for its resources and services to be available to a wide spectrum of people and groupings. The staff made a point of displaying the publications of all tendencies in the CRIC reading room.

CRIC staff decided after debating whether they were a community organization accountable to 'the community', that they were not. They defined themselves as a resource and service agency which was accessible to the public. The director used the argument put forward by some of the independent trade unions on affiliation to the UDF, and applied it rather inappropriately to CRIC. Trade unions were accountable to their members, as they financed the organisation and appointed the officials. CRIC was accountable to its sponsors.

Accountability amongst staff has been encouraged through the promotion of particular values and norms. Values and norms which have often been stressed in the public rhetoric of CRIC are: 'team work', 'co-operation', 'consultation', and 'individual and collective responsibility'. These values have been implemented through structural arrangements such as weekly meetings, the allocation of tasks to sub-groups, and through structured planning and evaluation. These organisational practices have encouraged a high degree of accountability amongst staff members.

New staff who are not used to taking responsibility for their own work, have on occasions placed a lot of pressure on the director to assume greater control. In interviews four staff described their initial discomfort with 'the slackness' of the director. In retrospect, two of the staff identified the problem as their own socialisation. They had both worked previously in large bureaucratic institutions. They found it difficult to be accountable to other staff. It was in response to some of these pressures that the director introduced the ideas for joint responsibility, which we have previously discussed.

IN SUMMARY

CRIC has been accountable to its sponsors through their representation on the Board. Staff have been accountable to one another through regular meetings, and through structured planning and evaluation sessions which occur on a quarterly and annual basis. Accountability to external parties such as teachers, students and community organisations has been informal. The specialist services and the high standards set to attain 'efficiency and effectiveness' have tended to make CRIC service-delivery orientated. The 'action' component of CRIC's work refers to its services. The 'democratic management approach' and the commitment of the organisation to staff development has encouraged internal accountability amongst staff. CRIC appears to have achieved a relatively high degree of participatory democracy within the organisation. However, as we have discussed, there is an inherent contradiction between participatory democracy and political action. Participatory democratic practices can lead to 'collective individualism' where the organisation functions in isolation from others and so limits its effectivess as a change agent. External accountability poses a number of problems and challenges for CRIC, both because of its sponsors and because of the diversity of political opinion amongst the staff, which reflects the diversity of political groupings in the society.

WHAT HAS HELPED OR HINDERED THE SHARING OF RESPONSIBILITY?

Within this section the major issues which have helped or hindered the sharing of responsibility within CRIC will be highlighted. Several of the issues have been alluded to above. This section will serve also as a summary of the case study. The specific issues which will be raised here are: conflict and consensus; action and reflection; theoretical knowledge; and internal and external accountability.

CONSENSUS AND CONFLICT

In the description of CRIC's membership differences in race classification, class, educational qualifications, gender, religion and political affiliations were pointed out. Differences between the interests of the business community and the interests of staff were also described. These differences were reflected in the two distinct forms of organisational practice which were – the hierarchical structure of the Board on the one hand, and the participatory structures amongst the staff on the other.

The dominant ideology amongst the staff was described earlier as being similar to the radical humanism which dominated some of the social movements in the 1960s. CRIC emphasised individual freedom and the promotion of equality of opportunity. The radical humanism was reinforced to some degree by the influences of the BCM and the non-racial populism, which have been predominantideologies both amongst staff members and in the external political arena. CRIC was concerned with the personal growth and development of the individuals, both amongst their clients and amongst the staff. This concern with individualism tended to encourage a consensus view of society and a social contact hypothesis concerning social change.(2)

There has been a tension in CRIC between the reality of a conflict of interests which has surfaced under specific conditions, and which has involved different sub-groups within CRIC at different times, and the very powerful consensus-seeking ethos which has also been prevalent in the organisation. Examples of the conflict in CRIC and responses to it will be be given as illustrations of this tension.

As discussed earlier, during 1982 race classification surfaced most explicitly as an issue amongst staff at the time of the dispute over salaries, which coincided with public debates amongst political activists concerning the role of whites in the struggle for liberation. (This was discussed in Part 3.) Up until this time, CRIC with its non-racial ethos never confronted the issue of race openly. They usually played down race classification as an issue for themselves as staff. But consciousness of black and white influence in the organisation always existed, as illustrated in an interview with a black fieldworker (8/8/84):

> In 1980 when a black director was appointed I saw this as a breakthrough. At the time I was excited at the possible shift of power to the black members. Two black teachers joined the Board at the same time. The director and I began strategizing as to how we were going to influence the Board and take power.

During 1981, an African fieldworker was appointed who subscribed to the BCM. He and the other fieldworker who came out of the NEUM tradition began to advocate the black consciousness position more explicitly. In interviews with black staff examples were given of more explicit caucusing by the two fieldworkers amongst the blackstaff around issues such as new appointments.

In interviews with four of the black staff mention was also made of sub-groupings within the black staff. The occurrence of the sub-groupings was most clearly described by a coloured member who told how she had sounded out the African fieldworker on his perceptions of the unity within the black group. She explained:

> We talk about being collectively black but I sounded him out on this. He said that there is still a suspicion of coloureds whom he said have not been known for their genuine feelings.... He said coloureds can identify with black ideals and unity, but will never be part of it totally. Whites of course are mistrusted even more.... These feelings definitely were damaging to working relationships at CRIC (Interview 16/8/84).

Most recently the struggle for power in CRIC by certain black staff was demonstrated in the quarterly evaluation (August 1984). The fieldworker asked whether CRIC should have 'a white director in a black concern.' She said that there were criticisms of CRIC by 'some radical black opinion' because of the white control of the organization. Black staff, however, had different opinions on this. In an interview (21/8/84) one member, whosays she 'feels comfortable with a non-racial position', was indignant. She retorted: 'Who said this was a black concern? I thought we were non-racial.' Another black member said: 'I don't think it matters if it's a white or black director. I wonder if we need a director at all' (20/8/84). A third member felt that ideally CRIC should have a black director.

Race classification has been an issue for CRIC staff from the beginning, but it has only been discussed explicitly since 1982. It has taken several different forms at different times, and the discussions above have shown that race classification is only one of many factors which impinge on the views of members. As seen in the views expressed above concerning the director, there is not consensus amongst the black staff; their views are influenced by many factors including their political disposition.

The political and race differences which have existed amongst CRIC staff have inevitably inhibited a climate of trust and openness in the organisation, and would have presumably limited the possibilities for the sharing of responsibility. However, it appears that there was a fairly open system ofcommunication, as one of the more hostile, black fieldworkers, said: 'Generally speaking among staff quite good lines of communication exist'. He believed that a positive approach by CRIC would be to openly address the questions of differences, and to move forward from there.

Conflict has begun to be dealt with in CRIC in a structured way. At the quarterly and annual evaluations issues are discussed. Other structures which have been set up to deal with conflict include a 'reflection team' which was appointed to handle staff grievances and discipline.

Responsibility for discipline had fallen most often on the director. Until 1982, discipline was maintained mainly through peer pressure, role modelling and regular reports-back in staff meetings and team meetings. It was also maintained through a commitment by staff to the effective delivery of their services.

In 1982, the director introduced the idea of staff responsibility for discipline. In 1983, staff established a 'reflection team', comprising two elected staff members to deal with any staff complaints. They also compiled a set of rules (*Minutes* 15/7/83) and procedures for the reflection team's operation and for staff in general. The rules included work hours and participation in decision making.

The reasons for a more structured approach to discipline were given in an interview with the director. She saw the need for collective responsibility for discipline as it was in line with the principles of self-management. However the reflection team only functioned in one instance. Since then the responsibility appears to have fallen on the staff as a whole with disciplinary issues being raised at staff meetings; or in some instances the responsibility has reverted back to the director. Although the attempt to devolve full responsibility for discipline to the staff has not been very successful, the struggle to do so has highlighted the problem of discipline within a self-management approach for all staff.

The tension between the consensus-seeking ethos and the reality of conflict is most clearly demonstrated by the two organisational forms which co-exist within CRIC. The staff operate according to a participatory democratic organisational model, while the structure of the Board and the position of director directly counter this practice with a hierarchical model. One of the Board's important functions is to look after the interests of CRIC's sponsors. As discussed above, at times there is a conflict of interests between the staff and those of its sponsors. Within a participatory democratic organisation, as previously discussed, there needs to be a degree of mutual trust, co-operation and support amongst the members of the group, which encourages a non-threatening, consensus-seeking work environment. The director plays a pivotal role in management of the two kinds of organisational structures and practices which co-exist within CRIC.

On the whole the director, who is in a very powerful and ambiguous position, has been left to define the reality both on the Board and amongst the staff. Yet, incidents have been described in which staff have resisted the Board and the director, and have attempted to influence policy decisions. Out of these conflicts, staff have learnt about the use of theirpower, and the development of certain conflict strategies. In addition, internal structures have been developed to counter the director's authority. Thus, while the organizational structure with a designated director has been acknowledged amongst staff as a limitation to the sharing of responsibility, the struggles have produced various lessons about the conflictual nature of the of the organisation and how to work within it.

In this section the tension between a consensus-seeking tendency and the reality of conflicts of interests between different groups at different times, has been explored . Acentral contradiction within the organisation, which is that it is structured hierarchically but aims amongst the staff to achieve participatory democracy, illustrates the tension that permeates the organisation. A positive outcome of the tension appears to be that it has provided an important source of learning. The struggles within the organisation have resulted in more formalized and structured procedures for the sharing of responsibility amongst the staff.

THEORETICAL KNOWLEDGE

CRIC was established at a time when private enterprise was wanting to promote reform in Government policy. CRIC was able to adopt a clear anti-Apartheid, non-racial position. Its emphasis on staff development was in line with the thinking of a number of different liberal and radical groupings, both in the BCM and non-racial tendency. The form that the self-educational practices took was in line with the ideology of radical humanism which was popular in the mid-1970s within community work, radical Christian and BC circles. Radical humanism advocated learning by participation; it emphasised the importance of critical thinking which was to be promoted through an analysis of daily experiences and feelings; it promoted the idea that all people could potentially be leaders, therefore they should be encouraged to be involved in all aspects of activity this led to an anti-expert tendency where the importance of theory was minimised. Radical humanism tended to promote a pragmatic, process-orientated approach to education.

Within CRIC, as was described above, the pragmatic, process-orientated approach has continued to predominate. Most often, both the nonformal and the informal educational activities have been process related. One reason that was proferred for the retention of this approach, was the fact that all staff were involved in deciding on the programme for staff development, and given the various specialisations in CRIC, it is possible that process related issues are the one area of common concern amongst all staff members.

In addition, generally staff have become integrated and involved in the whole operation after two years at CRIC. However, on average they have stayed for three years. This has meant a continual process of education, to re-educate new people to want to share responsibility and struggle for power.

The development of theoretical knowledge has most often been left to the individuals. This has occurred through the professional staff's enrolment in degree or diploma courses at a university. On occasion there has been some theoretical input into annual evaluation or nonformal programmes for staff, but not very frequently. This input has been varied and eclectic. The pressure on staff to deliver CRIC's services has also limited opportunities for staff development. The limited emphasis on theoretical knowledge, however, could have serious repercussions for CRIC. A concentration on pragmatic, process orientated educational activities could promote a very conservative practice, which avoids the tackling of the more fundamental issues which often are referred to as the 'theoretical issues'.

CRIC established itself in opposition to prevailing Government policy. It advocated non-racialism, it challenged hierarchical relationships, and it promoted 'independent critical thinking'. It was able to obtain sponsorship from private enterprise. Since the time of its establishment the relationship between the State and business appears to have altered, with the Government adopting more of a reform stance. It has, for example, very recently decided to cancel the Coloured Preference Policy and seems to be reassessing its position on Influx Control. These are two of the major Apartheid policies which CRIC has actively worked against, as they have direct implications for career choice, particularly amongst Africans. The State has also, through the HSRC investigation into education in the RSA and the report published in 1981 *Provision of Education in RSA*, identified the need for a far more comprehensive approach to careers guidance. One of the recommendations of the report which has been accepted by the Government is that the general demand for careers guidance be met through:

> cooperation, and coordination between training institutions, the HSRC, NIPR, Department of Manpower, employers and the private sector. (paragraph 3.4.2.2)

With the development of a more complex set of strategies on the side of the State including the new Tricameral Parliament which was mentioned in Part Four , CRIC requires an ongoing, carefully theorised position, in order to work out its priorities. If this does not happen, the advocacy role which CRIC initially adopted, will decrease in importance and its service role will dominate. This tendency is already discernible. As Lovett was quoted as saying in Part Two, committed educational practice requires a sense of social and political purpose, which needs to be constantly interpreted in the light of theory. He goes on to argue that radical educational practice should developed linked to a social movement. These issues will be discussed further in Part Five.

ACCOUNTABILITY – EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL

Within CRIC there has been a relatively high degree of internal accountability amongst the members who have been integrated through the regular meetings, and collective planning and evaluation sessions. External accountability has been more problematic.

The problems that CRIC has with external accountability seem to be related in part to the paradox between external political action and internal participatory democracy (this paradox was discussed in Chapter 4); to its modus operandi which is dependent on sponsorship from the business sector; and to the diverse range of political opinion amongst the staff.

External accountability also appears to be related to the maintenance of an advocacy role within CRIC. Gramsci argued that critical, intellectual activity needs to be extended in close linkage with the practice of the counter-hegemonic movement. In this way ideas are not only able to be developed, but they become 'a material force'. Within CRIC there is an awareness amongst some of the members that external accountability to the broader movement for change is essential for the maintenance of an advocacy role. The director noted in an interview that: 'There seems stronger internal accountability to us, than to them out there'. This she recognised as a problem. However, given the composition of staff, and the modus operandi of CRIC, at present it seems that one of the only ways for CRIC to be in touch with the extra-parliamentary opposition groups, is through individual membership of certain of the organisations by the staff.

In CRIC the high degree of internal accountability appears to have assisted the process of the sharing of responsibility.

ACTION AND REFLECTION

The processes of action and reflection have been consistently integrated into CRIC's organisational practice through its commitment to collective planning and evaluation. The 'action' which has been reflected upon, has been the work activities of each staff member. It has not usually been reflection on more overt political action within the broader community. As previously discussed, CRIC has tended to concentrate pragmatically on the process and content of its own work, rather than to emphasise social and political theory and explicit political action.

The integrated processes of planning and evaluation which have clearly allocated authority to particular members for specific tasks, seem to have played an important role in the sharing of responsibility amongst the staff members. However the specialised functions in CRIC have also limited the extent to which the sharing of responsibility is possible.

In Part Six the empirical data which has been presented will be probed and discussed further, and the usefulness of the analytical tools for the study of self-education in community organisations will be assessed.

Chapter Fourteen

CASE STUDY THREE RAPE CRISIS CAPE TOWN (RCCT)

Research procedures

The data for the RCCT case study has been gathered in a number of ways. Permission to conduct research and to utilise RCCT in the study was negotiated with the general membership of the organisation in March 1984. The specific procedures were:

- Attendance of the training course for new members as a full participant. It was a twenty-one hour course over seven weeks.
- Studying primary documents from the establishment of RCCT in 1977 to the present.
- Individual interviews with six selected members[28] who have belonged to the organisation for between three and eight years.
- Attendance of eight monthly General Meetings, and three ad hoc policy and 'maintenance' workshops.
- Questionnaires to the membership, 37.5% of which were returned.
- Informal discussions with a number of old and new members.

Feedback during the research has been presented through the monthly newsletter and at General Meetings (GM).

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MACRO AND MICRO ORGANISATIONAL CONTEXTS

Introduction

RCCT is a women's organisation. Therefore, before describing the specific origins of RCCT it is necessary to locate RCCT in very general terms within the context of other women's organisations in South Africa. The development of the international Women's Movement in the late 1960s was described briefly in Part Two along with other oppositional social movements at that time.

A complete history of women's organisations in South Africa is yet to be written. It is a very complex history because of the deep cleavages amongst women which have been induced through class and race oppression. The purpose here is not to attempt to elaborate a history, but, very briefly, to highlight some of the key issues which form part of the context in which RCCT has operated.

Within the contemporary literature in South Africa, a clear distinction is made between 'bourgeois feminism' and the organisation of working class women. It is argued that the racial and class divisions are far greater than 'any experience of common womanhood they might share'.[29] The majority of women experience 'triple oppression' as blacks, women and workers. White women have been separated from black women through the structures of white supremacy. For the majority of women, who are black, the disabilities they suffer as blacks rather than as women have been of greatest concern.

Black women's struggles occur around issues such as influx control, increased rent and food prices, housing shortages, child care and political repression.[30] Bourgeois women have tended to organise around issues with a different class content, such as access to abortion, equal pay, marriage reform, the abuse of women in the media, and rape. Some people argue that the bourgeois feminists are largely irrelevant to the national liberation struggle.[31] They argue that the purpose of women's organisation is to mobilise grassroots women to fight within the broader national democratic struggle. Others, like Cole,[32] argue that there are specific issues which relate to women's sexual oppression, which should be taken up by women's organisations. She describes, through a case history of one African woman, the increasingly common perception amongst African women, of their oppression in racial, sexual and class terms. A further argument is that there is no place for separate women's organisations within the liberation struggle.[33]

RCCT, which has a predominantly white, bourgeois and petty bourgeois membership, is located within these debates, and is influenced by the debates. Illustrations of this influence will be given during the course of the description of RCCT.

Origins of RCCT

RCCT was established as a non-racial organisation in 1977 by four professional women, who were rape survivors. The aim of RCCT was to be both a service organisation to rape survivors and their families, and a pressure group to challenge the State's response to rape. In 1978 and 1979 there was an influx of 'left-wing feminists'[34] from the Women's Movement at UCT.

The Women's Movement[35] on the UCT campus was started in the mid-1970s, at about the time that Juliet Mitchell, a well known North American feminist, visited the campus to deliver the T.B. Davie Memorial lecture in 1975. In 1977 it received a boost when several NUSAS women withdrew from community work involvement with the Community Commission (Com Com), and joined the organisation. These women were apparently influenced strongly by emerging western Marxist feminist literature,[36] which promoted the idea of involvement with concrete women's issues. This led the group to join RCCT in 1978 as it was one of the few organisations dealing with a women's issue in a very practical way.

Therefore RCCT was set up in response to the needs of rape survivors, but was influenced from an early stage by the nascent women's movement in Cape Town which was in turn influenced by the growing international Women's Movement.

Membership

In 1984 RCCT had a membership of a hundred and four, with sixty-five of those members on the 'active list'. The majority of the members are white (approx.90%), between the ages of twenty and thirty years, have university education, are English-speaking, and are feminists.[37] The majority are anti-Apartheid[38], with some adopting a liberal, reform-orientated approach, while others support a more radical approach, within the context of the national liberation movement.

The membership was initially more diverse than it is today. One of the founding members described the group in the early period as consisting of 'liberals, lesbians, Christians, radical feminists, charity workers, and non-feminists'. The influx of radical feminists from the UCT Women's Movement made a big impact as they swelled the numbers from nine to nineteen.[39]

The incentives which motivate women to join RCCT are, as Perlman[40] found in her study, diverse: they demonstrate competing and sometimes conflicting needs and assumptions amongst the rank and file membership. They reveal both solidary and purposive incentives. The most common seem to be:

- they are rape survivors themselves and they want to help others who have gone through a similar experience;
- they are wanting to be involved in some form of welfare work;
- they have come through the UCT Women's Movement and want to provide a practical service through which the feminist cause can simultaneously be promoted;
- they are professional women who are in contact with rape survivors in the course of their work;
- they want to belong to a women's organisation;
- they are interested in interacting in a non-hierarchical structure which is committed to democratic participation by the members;
  friends belong to the organisation.

There has been talk at intervals concerning the need to widen the membership base in order to attract women of different class origins and different race classification. For example in May 1983 in a report on a Policy Workshop, it stated that: 'As members we felt ... the problem of RC being representative of the elite middle class must be tackled if we are to address other problems perpetuated by the society we live in.' There is no evidence however of concerted efforts to broaden the base.

Goals, structures and strategies

GOALS

The goals of RCCT can be separated for convenience into:

- instrumental goals i.e. immediate, practical, service goals
- long term, general, political goals.

This separation in reality does not exist as there is inevitably a continuity between the two, however it is useful for descriptive purposes.

INSTRUMENTAL GOALS

RCCT was established to service the needs of rape victims (in 1982 the use of the term 'victim' was replaced by what members felt to be a more positive term,'survivor'). In its constitution the aims and objectives are stated as:

1. Rape Crisis will offer advice, moral support and legal advice as a form of social assistance to the rape victim and to any members of the family or any other persons who might be involved.
2. Rape Crisis provides ongoing support to the victim. When necessary the victim will be referred for psychiatric treatment or psychotherapy.
3. Rape Crisis deals with crimes of sexual intent involving women, children or men.
4. Rape Crisis deals not only with the acute phase of the crime, but also with delayed reports.
5. Rape Crisis will at all times liaise or cooperate with medical, legal and welfare authorities.
6. Rape Crisis will conduct public relations work: to publicise the organisation and to educate the public about the legal, medical and social aspects of rape.
7. Rape Crisis may conduct research into all aspects of rape. This research will be made available to the public and to authorities concerned with rape.
8. A training course will be organised at regular intervals to train new Rape Crisis workers. Applicants will be screened prior to the course and again afterwards to determine in which areas they will be allowed to operate.
9. Seminars for authorities and professionals will be organised as well as ongoing seminars for Rape Crisis workers.

These aims and objectives continue to guide the practical work in general terms. But they have begun to question the long term value of some of them. In a workshop run in 1983 on 'Goal Setting and Planning', three goals were emphasised. These were:

1. Public Education
2. Counselling of Rape Survivors
3. Group Maintenance and Training

There has been a shift from a primary concentration on counselling, to a greater emphasis on public education, where relatively larger numbers of people can be reached, and exposed to a feminist analysis of rape and women abuse more broadly. There has also been an emphasis, in line with feminist organisations elsewhere, on the expressive goal of concern for the personal and collective growth and development of the members themselves. This aspect will be explored in a later section.

LONG-TERM, GENERAL, POLITICAL GOALS

The long term political goals are more difficult to discern, as they are not stated explicitly. But in the documents, a shift in the political direction of RCCT was noticeable. These shifts appear to be influenced by both the external context within which the organisation was operating, and the membership at the time.

Initially, as seen from the aims elaborated in the constitution, the organisation aimed primarily to help rape survivors and press for reform in the treatment of rape survivors. It then began to develop an analysis within a feminist framework. The first shift occurred in 1978, when as has already been described, a number of women joined from the UCT Women's Movement. During the 1970s, with the emergence of the BCM, and the 1976 revolt, a radical reappraisal of NUSAS's role was undertaken. There was a retreat back onto the white university campuses, and the beginning of a reorientation period, where the reeducation of white students was seen as a priority. The educational work was designed to promote a long term commitment amongst students to the struggle for a non-racial South Africa. The aim was to counter a growing pessimism amongst anti-Apartheid white students, by showing them that they did have a role to play in the building of a non-racial future.[41] One of the members of RCCT described it as follows:[42]

> Whites' feelings of relevance had disappeared. The white left felt impotent. We were no longer relevant in labour or communities. Then we joined the Women's Movement on campus. We realised that there was lots of work to do, and there was lots of feminist activity then, though Rape Crisis was the only one working with ordinary women – by that I mean not lesbians or students.

By 1980 a growing number of left-wing feminists were seeing RCCT as a relevant place to work. The membership was younger than it had been, and was more schooled in feminism. They were not all rape survivors, and they were also more open about their own sexuality. This change was helped by the very gradual partial acceptance of feminism in the broader society, although there was still a lot of opposition from the left, as we discussed earlier, and the right. One member described the noticeable change:[43]

> You have no idea what a big difference it made when we could use the term 'feminist' in the open. This was around the end of 1981. Rather than being apologetic about our feminist analysis we could begin to assert ourselves more self-confidently as feminists. Members who were not feminists gradually withdrew from the organisation.

A second shift in orientation, was noticeable at the end of 1982, early 1983. At the National Conference of the six rape crisis centres, in April 1983, there were heated debates on whether or not the centres should broaden their focus to include 'institutionalised violence' within South African society, such as forced removals, and influx control. They also discussed, in line with many other community and worker organisations at that time, their relationships to broader political issues and movements. The conference marked a change from the narrower discussions about the issues of rape, to one in which violence within the broader context was the focus. The 1984 National Conference continued these discussions with its theme, 'Situating ourselves in South Africa'. Some of the resolutions adopted by this conference indicate the growing dominance ofthe more radical members within the organisation.

Two of the resolutions, which indicate the changes in policy orientation, and which were adopted, are:

> *Resolution 1:* A statement of principle is needed to make the connection between rape and broader political /social concerns and to align Rape Crisis/POWA (i.e. People Opposed to Women Abuse, the Johannesburg R.C. organisation) to democratic groups against sexism, racism and exploitation, towards building a truly democratic society....
>
> *Resolution 2:* We resolve to consider carefully and be cautious in our dealings with organisations, government and other, whose aims and objectives appear to be in conflict with our own....
> (*Newsletter* July 1984)

While these, and other resolutions were adopted by the Conference, each Rape Crisis Centre had in turn to debate them. RCCT held a workshop in July 1984, which accepted them. The implications of these resolutions for practice, are still being explored. These will be discussed more fully later. (See Appendix for a list of the Resolutions.)

When questioning why the more radical positions were gaining predominance in RCCT at this time, it seems that one reason could relate to the growing stature of the 'national democratic movement', as discussed in Chapter 11. Several of the active and influential members of RCCT were directly or indirectly involved in UWO, or other UDF linked organisations. Within that climate,they were able to assert their ideas with more self-confidence. They also began to attract more new members with a similar orientation.

RCCT has more recently begun to explore the possibilities of working more closely with extra-parliamentary opposition groups, while maintaining its pressure for a reform of facilities and attitudes to women abuse, by professionals and State institutions.

STRUCTURES

Structure, according to an original member (interview 10/5/84), only became an issue in 1979. In terms of the recently promulgated Fundraising Act, they affiliated to the Cape Mental Health (CMH) welfare organisation. CMH required a constitution from RCCT. Another impetus came from the increase in membership. Some of the new members who had experience of male-dominated, hierarchies in NUSAS, were arguing for non-hierarchical structures, similar to feminist organisations elsewhere.

The current structure has the monthly General Meeting (GM) of all the membership, as the highest decision-making body. The chairperson and secretary are elected at each meeting, and the minutes are circulated to all members through the monthly newsletter. This is compiled by members on a rotation basis. The treasurer is elected at the AGM. In addition, there are five task groups to which members choose to belong.These are counselling, public speaking, bleeper duty, resources and fundraising. At times the task groups have separate meetings, and usually have a coordinator who occupies the position for about six months. The task groups usually respond to requests, and members are on duty on a rotation basis.

'For the past year there has been an appointed, part-time administrative coordinator. The position is readvertised each year to RCCT members. The office is open four hours a day. The coordinator's task is to coordinate fundraising and to oversee that commitments are carried through. She provides continuity between the GMs.

A further structure which enables policy decisions to be taken, are the ad hoc half or full-day workshops. These are organised on average four times a year, and concern policy issues, evaluations, or nonformal educational sessions.

The relationship with the CMH seems, for the most part, to have been a marriage of convenience. The CMH has assisted RCCT with its financial management. At one stage, a member of CMH was to attend RCCT meetings. There have been some points of conflict between the two organisations, which were highlighted when CMH management reacted to two articles published in the RCCT newsletter. One they considered to be sexually too explicit, and the other concerned the launching of the UDF. At this point CMH asked for all RCCT publications to be vetted by them first, but members have refused to be censored (Interview 8/5/84).

The final structure which is of importance, is the annual National Conference, which is held together with other Rape Crisis Centres in South Africa. The Conference maintains the loose affiliation amongst the centres. It appears to be an important 'energiser' and produces 'great feelings of warmth, solidarity and excitement amongst the women who attend'.

Structures in RCCT have been developed both in response to the internal needs of the organisation and to external legislative and ideological influences, such as the Fundraising Act on the one hand, and a feminist view of 'good organisational practice' on the other.

STRATEGIES

The 1984 National Conference proposed certain changes in the goals of the centres, which were to encourage closer liaison with other organisations who are fighting against various forms of exploitation, and more cautious dealings with State and other institutions. These changes could in time affect the strategies within RCCT. Up until now the organisation has mainly responded to requests for counselling, general information, or to give talks. RCCT had previously also decided to work more closely with more radical community organisations (e.g. 1983 National Conference), but it has not as yet implemented these decisions.

RCCT receives up to a hundred calls a month. Members usually respond to calls on a first-come-first-served basis. This has meant that they have cooperated with a wide range of organisations, from the Afrikaanse Vroue Vereeniging, to the Rotary Clubs, to black High Schools, to COSAS and AZASO. From an analysis of 115 public talks given between 1981 and 1984, it appears that 35% of the talks are given to hospitals or related medical institutions; 23% to community and service organisations; 18% to educational institutions; 11% to welfare and church organisations; and 4% to police and army related organisations.

Training courses, conferences and discussion have been run for, or in conjunction, with professional groups,the hospitals, and others. RCCT believes that through the promotion of a better service to rape survivors by the institutions, its own role can change to more of an educational one. Already there appears to be a transfer of the counselling load, with the establishment of a 24 hour service at Tygerberg Hospital in Bellville, for the treatment of battered women. In July 1985 the establishment of a shelter for battered women was being negotiated in conjunction with a range of other people and organisations.

The pressure group function which RCCT defined for itself has taken a number of forms. It has included letters to the newspapers, giving evidence to State Commissions of Enquiry on topics relating to rape, participating in discussions on television, and working with professionals. Some of these strategies have recently been challenged by members. Some members believe that every opportunity should be taken to air RCCT's views, while others called for disassociation from all Government institutions. They felt RCCT should become more discerning in deciding with whom it should work. Some felt that it should be working more with 'the leaders of tomorrow', by which they meant radical, predominantly black activists. The struggle between these positions continues within the organisation.

In summary

In this section the influence of external historical, political and ideological forces on internal practices within RCCT has been demonstrated through a discussion of the origins of the organisation, its membership, its changing goals, structures and strategies. The impact of international feminism on the organisation is of particular significance. Further illustrations of the dialectical relationship between micro organisational practices and the macro context will emerge in discussions in the next section.

INTERNAL PROCESSES – SHARING RESPONSIBILITY

The theoretical 'tools' which are being used to analyse the self-education within the case studies include the relationship between the micro and macro organisational contexts, plus the four integrated processes within the organisation: these are action, reflection, theoretical knowledge and participatory democracy. It has been argued that these four processes are essential for the development of leadership in voluntary associations, and the concomitant 'empowering' of the members. The internal organisational processes of RCCT will be analysed with these theoretical tools in mind.

In the questionnaire which was administered to RCCT members, over 80% of the respondents to the questionnaire[44] rated the members' training course and the regular newsletter as very important for their participation in RCCT. Both seem to have a strong influence on the cohesion of the organisation. Therefore they will provided the initial focus for this section.

Nonformal education

Attendance of the annual training course is mandatory for prospective members of RCCT. It extends over seven or eight weekly, three hour sessions. It aims to give trainees sufficient knowledge and skill to enable them to become integrated into the service functions almost immediately. It also introduces new members into the norms and values of the organisation. I attended a training course in May 1984. The following description and analysis is based on that experience. It apparently followed the usual format.

The course emphasised both process and content. It was run by a team of twelve facilitators who, very consciously distributed responsibility amongst themselves. The structure and the format of the course was seen as an essential part of the learning process. The first introductory session provided trainees the opportunity to assess the course and decide whether to continue with it. Certain values were clearly emphasised: trust, support, confidentiality, respect for one another's opinions, self-discipline, and a commitment to the course and the participants. The climate that was being created in the first two sessions, was one which showed a concern for solidarity amongst all women it was non-threatening, informal and provided emotional support for participants.

Participants worked in small groups, which remained constant for the duration of the course, and which encouraged a degree of intimacy amongst the trainees. Each group had two facilitators. From the outset the devolution of responsibility was consciously encouraged. Each session was coordinated by a different facilitator; each group had a turn to organise the tea; each group had responsibility for maintaining their physical space; and some facilitators shared responsibility for achieving the set tasks in the allotted time. Teabreaks and a final meeting at the end of each session encouraged the development of cohesion between the small groups.

The emphasis was on the drawing on and learning from the experiences and feelings of the participants. The theoretical input came from a prepared dossier which was to be read at home. Each session built on the theory through experiential learning processes. For example, sexual violence was enacted by facilitators through a short drama, and participants in groups portrayed violence in three minute sketches in which they could use only one of the following – words, sounds, actions, words and actions. On another occasion counselling skills were developed through role play and peer counselling. A non-directive approach to counselling was taught, and support and 'unconditional regard' for one another, was encouraged in the groups. Experienceand feelings were stressed rather than theory. Informality and humour were also part of the learning environment.

The course succeeded in generating a feeling of solidarity amongst the women. Participants were conscious of themselves as women, as I overheard one woman say: 'I've never enjoyed being with only women so much.'

Core values of the course seem to be similar to the values promoted by the women's movement of the early 1970s, which were discussed in Part Two. They are: the importance of the personal, giving all people 'space to talk and act', individual autonomy, and collective concern for the oppression of women. In the final session of the training course time was spent on an evaluation.

Once new members have completed the course the next stage is for them to become integrated into the service delivery and administration processes. It is at this stage that various problems are invariably encountered. Trainees move from the intensive, supportive experience of the course to monthly GMs and if they choose, to help with counselling, bleeper duty or public speaking. The services occur as relatively isolated activities, carried out by individuals or people in pairs. Various mechanisms are attempted to facilitate the transition and integration process. But circumstance often dictate a task orientation, which does not allow for a gradual entry. An example of this occurred after the course I attended, three new members found themselves as coordinators of various task groups at their first GM. New members were also integrated onto duty rosters right away.

The training course concentrates on the development of counselling skills. Other skills, such as public speaking, are taught at ad hoc workshops, and through the sub-committees. The counselling sub-committee usually meets monthly to discuss cases. The effective functioning, and the educational element within the sub-committees seems largely dependent on the current coordinator. The skills training workshops are also often dependent on the level of enthusiasm of the incumbent coordinator.

Forty-nine percent of respondents to the questionnaire, believed that the skills workshops were too few and far between. They believed they were important for the sharing of skills.

The training course, as noted by over 80% of the respondents, is a vital part of the organisation. It introduces members into certain of the norms and values, and it develops theoretical understanding of rape, and teaches certain skills. It is particularly important, because of the voluntary nature of the organisation. It builds a sense of cohesion for active members by encouraging a common political commitment i.e. fighting for the rights of women. It tends to encourage a consensus view of women in society, which plays down class, race or other cultural, political or ideological differences.

After each training course it would seem that on average between 30% and 50% of the trainees do not become involved in the organisation for any length of time.

Job specialisation, job rotation and the role of coordinator

The position of coordinator or paid worker has been discussed in RCCT for several years. However it seems that both for financial reasons and possibly for ideological reasons, an appointment was not made until the end of 1983. The position of coordinator was integral to the competing ideas and debates about 'democratic' practice which were alive in RCCT and other community organisations. One of the members who plays a key role in policy formulation, stated in an interview[45]:

> It was only when I attended the Zakhe Workshop on Self-Management that I realised it was OK to have a coordinator. I thought it was undemocratic. I can remember writing a note to the other RCCT member at the workshop, saying, we need a coordinator.

At the October GM, a month after the Zakhe Workshop, a proposal was adopted for the appointment of a coordinator, with her first task being to raise funds for her own salary.

When questioning what had brought about the change in the member's understanding of democracy, it seemed that the discussion at the workshop on the designation of authority had presented the member with an alternative perspective on democracy. Initially, she saw 'democracy' in terms of collective leadership which she seemed to have interpreted as meaning 'everyone does everything'. At the workshop the question of the delegation of authority was emphasised in the discussion on designated authority. Collective leadership could therefore also mean the delegation of authority by the collective to an individual. The key question then became that of accountability of the individual to the collective. The member then came to see the position of coordinator not as a betrayal of collective leadership, but an extension of it. She therefore recommended its implementation.

In the establishment of the coordinator's position, various parameters were built in, which discouraged the accumulation of much power by the incumbent. The position could only be held for a year, at which stage it would be offered to other members. It was argued that different members should be given the opportunity to obtain the work experience and skills, which the job offered. The coordinator was to report to the GM monthly.

Rotation of the positions of secretary, treasurer, chairperson, coordinators of sub-committees, and service duties, are integral to the organisation's functioning. It often occurs on an ad hoc basis, which depends on the enthusiasm, and commitment of members. There is a similar situation with specialisation. Members take responsibility for their own involvement, and they fulfill functions according to their own needs, abilities and interests. On occasion, when members have become aware of one member monopolising a particualar function, conflict has resulted. One member described what happened to her:[46]

> I was doing more work in RCCT than anyone else. It was a situation I saw but didn't know what to do about it. There were things to do and I did them.... The situation became tension filled. It all blew up in 1982. There was one of our 'clear the air' meetings.... I realised that I had been taking over, although this was not my intention. After that I withdrew for a while. I was deeply upset at that point.

Through informal peer pressure and occasional 'clear the air' meetings certain of the norms of the organisation are maintained.

One of the most important communication vehicles for RCCT is the monthly newsletter. Ninety-eight percent of respondents felt that the newsletter contributes positively to their participation in the organisation. The newsletter is prepared by two different volunteers each time. The newsletters contain notices, minutes of GMs, general interest articles, often relating to feminism in general, or rape in particular. Each newsletter carries the creative stamp of the rotating editors. The importance of the skills learnt through this process have been emphasised by several members.

In the interviews and through the questionnaires, many members mentioned the increased self-confidence and skills they had obtained through their membership of RCCT. Specific mention was made of public speaking skills, counselling and lay-out skills.

Participation in planning and evaluation

Planning and evaluation occur during GMs and at special policy and evaluation workshops. The structures, as have been described, theoretically at least, allow for participation by the whole membership. In order to analyse participation in these structures more closely, available data on attendance at GMs and workshops has been analysed. Analyses of responses to the questionnaire also inform this discussion.

From an analysis of attendance at twelve GMs during the last two years, it appears that only 13.5% of the membership attend more than half the GMs, and approximately 2% attend over 90% of the meetings. The average attendance at GMs is 21% of the active membership.

Attendance of GMs in itself, does not necessarily say much about participation in decision-making. At the GMs certain mechanisms are integrated in order to encourage active participation. One is the rotation of office-bearers, another is the construction of the agenda which allows contributions from anyone, a third, is the space given at the end of meetings for people to express feelings about the meeting itself. Because of fluctuating attendance, inevitably the coordinator, and the few regular attenders, feed more items onto the agenda, and contribute more to discussion.

Major policy decisions are normally only taken after a policy workshop which is held on a Sunday afternoon, and is organised by an ad hoc committee. Notice of the workshops are placed in the newsletter, and members are often telephoned. Attendance at workshops is not normally recorded, but some indication can be gauged from attendance at two workshops in May and June 1984, where 41.5% and 46% of the membership attended respectively. At two workshops held in October and November 1981, 69% and 41% attended respectively. It seems therefore that attendance at policy workshops is substantially higher than at GMs.

The sub-committees which organise the workshops play an important role in defining the agendas for discussions. They are usually composed of interested volunteers. There seem to be certain members who serve on the committees more regularly than others. For example, the same member chaired the meeting for the appointment of the coordinator in 1983, for the 'goal setting workshop' in 1983, and the National Conference in 1984. Another member, in an interview, believed that membership of the policy workshop organising committees, was very important. She ensures that she is on key sub-committees. Certain members appear to informally play key leadership roles.

The important 'definers of reality' in the organisation are radical feminists. They influence the dominant culture in the organisation. Several of them live in a similar geographical area, they belong to interlinking friendship networks, and they have similar political leanings (i.e. they are sympathetic to the UDF).

Many features of RCCT seem to be similar to the 'young branch' of the women's movement as described by Jo Freeman.[47] She describes the leaderless, structureless groups which were premised on the assumption that all women were equally capable of making decisions, carrying out actions and performing tasks, and forming policy; and that all women should be able to share, criticise and learn from one another's ideas equally. She then goes on to describe some of the problems with 'structurelessness'. It is worth quoting it in full:

> Although the ideology damned the idea of leadership, the movement was not without leaders in the sense that some people influenced group decision-making more than others. Any group of people inevitably structures itself on the basis of friendship networks within it. If such a network within a larger group, is composed of people particularly interested in that group, who share common ideas and information, they become the power structure of the group. The inevitably exclusive nature of the communications networks of friends is not a new phenomenon. Such informal relationships have excluded women for centuries from participation in integrated groups of which they were a part. Much of the energy of past women's movements has been directed to having the structures of decision-making and the selection processes formalised so that the exclusion of women could be confronted directly. It is particularly ironic that the women's movement should inflict upon itself a problem it's been fighting for centuries. When informal elites are combined with a myth of 'structurelessness' there can be no attempt to put limits on the use of power because the means of doing so have been eliminated. The groups thus have no means of compelling responsibility from the elites that dominate them. They cannot even admit they exist.

Within RCCT there appears to be a small group of members, who are also friends, who unofficially provide the leadership.

In the questionnaire, 36% of respondents mentioned factors which hinder their participation. The 'dogmatism' or 'politics' of some members was mentioned by 10%; 5% felt inhibited to express 'certain feelings'; 2% felt that the groundwork for decisions was done in friendship networks; 18% mentioned the 'cliquish elements', the organisation's 'narrow and exclusive base', or the particular 'norms and values' which can exclude or intimidate potential participants.

The majority of members are unmarried, without children, and are in their twenties or early thirties. The organisation does not cater specifically for people who have family commitments. One older member[48] expressed the view that the youthfulness of the membership was a deterrent to older members. She recalled that there were more older women in the organisation in previous years. She also felt that her participation in some of the social events was limited because she was married, and many functions were attended by only women.

The limited participation of some members has been a recurring concern in the organisation, and various strategies are developed at different times to encourage participation. In the last two years 'maintenance workshops' have been run to improve communications and internal relationships amongst the membership. One member referred to them as 'structured speak outs'. Recently assertiveness training workshops have been run for interested members. In addition the need for 'arbitration skills' have been identified, in order to confront rather than avoid 'the inevitable conflict' between members. (July 1984 Maintenance Workshop)

With these developments, there appears to be at least some acknowledgement of the potential conflict in the situation. Therefore the problems which are mentioned by Freeman with 'structurelessness', while still having relevance for the organisation, are perhaps beginning to be acknowledged. It is not clear though, whether the conflict is identified only on an interpersonal level, or whether political differences are also included. The tendency has been up to now, to play down differences, and to emphasise the solidarity of members as women.

Accountability – internal and external

The structures within RCCT are designed to encourage accountability by the membership to one another. Collective leadership is promoted, with a strong emphasis on the sharing of responsibility. Over ninety percent of the respondents to the questionnairemportant for the organisation to be 'democratic'. When asked what their criteria were for judging an organisation to be 'democratic', the following were the most popular responses: 54% – equal say in decision-making; 23% – high level of participation by members; 20.5% – sharing responsibility in all tasks; 18% – the structure is non-hierarchical. All responses concerned the internal participatory processes. Eighty percent of respondents, using their criteria, defined RCCT as democratic.

Although from the evidence presented so far, there appears to be a high degree of consensus on the appropriate organisational form for RCCT, in the responses to the question on why democracy was important for the organisation, certain ideological divisions were apparent.

From the responses there seemed to be an almost equal division between members who described democracy in relation to the broader issues of social transformation, and those who described it primarily in relation to the experience and development of individual participants. Some examples of the different responses are:

- as a women's organisation it should strive for all individuals to exist in freedom
- we are fighting unequal and destructive relationships between men and women, classes, powerful and powerless
- must run the organisation in the manner we want for broader society
- cannot confront patriarchical, hierarchical structures unless we are coming from somewhere else
- feminism and democratic organisation go together
- essential to give women an opportunity to experience non- hierarchical non-male dominated organisations
- must try alternatives to present authoritarian structures
- participants must experience their potential to be heard, to act, to take responsibility, to feel effective
- give person a chance to voice her opinion there should be freedom of speech, thought and feeling
- fighting oppression is primary struggle rape is part of this
- it is more educative and supportive
- not essential as long as its effective and efficient

Some of the members see the participatory structure as being important for the growth and development of individual women, and others seem to see it as important for the development of a utopian th development of a utopian theory and practice of a more equitable, less oppressive society. One person believed effectiveness and efficiency was more important than a particular organisational form. These ideological differences have existed in the organisation for a long time, and they surface periodically in debates over strategy. An example of some of the differences emerged after the National Conference in 1984.

At the National Conference certain resolutions, which were mentioned earlier, were adopted. Some members of RCCT were unhappy with how the resolutions were adopted. Two members published letters in the May 1984 newsletter. One spoke of the 'almost fascist element that pressured women to conform or get out'. The same woman spoke of a caucus group which was pushing for disassociation from all State institutions. In the other letter, the author highlighted the apparent conflict over strategy:

> Only certain paths are seen by some members as 'politically correct' ones and I think that this has alienated and frustrated many women who choose to work for change in other ways.... We have a duty to oppressed women that should not be superseded by a desire to be purist, superior or 'politically correct' these are the very patriarchical attitudes that we fight against.....

In response to the two letters a third member, who also chaired the Conference, stated:

> Personally I was incredibly excited by the new ideas generated by the experience.... Working for change for rape survivors cannot happen in a vacuum but has to go hand in hand with other changes in our society. I don't feel as A. put it, 'We must fold RCCT and put it into the national liberation struggle' but as the major internal movement for political change we have to work with them.... For me the Conference showed that we cannot only work with the status quo, but actively have to influence the way this country's future will develop. We came up with some guidelines at the Conference but strategies must be worked out by each centre.

A policy workshop was held in July 1984 to discuss the resolutions of the National Conference. Except for a few minor alterations, the resolutions were accepted by the thirty members present. There appeared to be a higher degree of consensus than had been expected. One possible reason for this was that some of those who may have opposed the resolutions never attended. The next stage was for the organisation to interpret the resolutions in terms of practice.

The editorial of the October 1984 newsletter, urged that, 'it is imperative that every project RCCT takes on is clearly situated within the context of S.A. and that each one of us strives to make sure that we know what the realities are for all women living in this country.' A public speaking workshop was held in October to discuss the implications of the resolutions. Also some members have begun to explore the implications for the next training course. The need for contextualisation of the work of RCCT, and for confronting the issues of racism, were highlighted at the policy workshop, as needing to be integrated into the next course.

The move from radical rhetoric to more radical practice is still being explored in the organisation. For the past two years, there have been calls for more work to be done with the more progressive community and worker organisations. But there are a number of structural constraints. They include, on the one hand the social composition of the membership, on the other the legislative barriers such as the Group Areas Act. There are also ideological barriers, some of which have been mentioned. Feminism is rejected by many people on the left as bourgeois, and therefore irrelevant. In addition, certain key feminist values in RCCT, such as the importance of personal experience, feelings, and honesty and openness, which are integral to their regard for individual autonomy, may not be shared by the other organisations. The question for RCCT then is how will they manage to draw closer to these organisations while still maintaining certain of their principles? How would the need for some degree of external accountability affect the internal participatory processes?

In summary

In the questionnaire 87% of respondents mentioned aspects of the organisation that had encouraged their participation, and their ablility to share responsibility. These ranged from the structured activities like the training course and the regular newsletter, to the informal support and encouragement through friendships, occasional telephone calls, guidance from older members, the supportive climate at meetings, and the limited pressure put on people to participate. Several of these have already been discussed.

Limitations for the sharing of resposibility relate to differences in skills, experience, time and commitment. There are some members who have made RCCT their primary commitment, while others belong to several organisations, and work full-time. Certain members form part of interlinked friendship networks,live in a similar area, and therefore participate informally in discussions and formulation of policy, more actively than other members. Attendance at meetings also determines possibilities for the sharing of responsibility.

WHAT HAS HELPED OR HINDERED THE SHARING OF RESPONSIBILITY?

Within this section the major issues which have helped or hindered the sharing of responsibility within RCCT will be highlighted. Several of the issues have been mentioned above. This section will also serve as a summary of the case study. The specific issues which will be raised here are: action and reflection; conflict and consensus, theoretical knowledge, and internal and external accountability.

CONFLICT AND CONSENSUS

The membership of RCCT is relatively homogeneous with regard to education, race classification, age, gender, and language. As was illustrated above, there are differences amongst members concerning political beliefs and, related to this, differences in interpretations of feminism. However, there seems a degree of consensus on certain feminist principles. These relate particularly to organisational processes.

The participatory democratic organisational form of RCCT is similar in many respects to the 'young branch' of the Women's Movement of the early 1970s, which was discussed in Part Two. RCCT promotes the practice of collective leadership and active participation by as many members as possible. One of the ways it does this is by attempting to give all members 'space to talk and act'. Education of the membership is one of RCCT's implicit goals. The assumption is made that through participation and the sharing of responsibility for the total operation, women will develop leadership abilities, which include a commitment to feminism, with which they can continue to fight against women's oppression, in the broader society. Feminism, as used by RCCT, stresses the importance of women being active in the world and is similar in many respects to the radical humanism which informed Freire's work.

Feminism, as interpreted by different members, seems to advocate particular organisational forms as 'belonging' to a feminist perspective. The organisational form which RCCT has adopted, is inclusive in that it stresses the participation of everyone, therefore emphasising consensus amongst women, rather than the conflict. It focuses mainly on the internal processes rather than the external context. Yet the commitments to particular forms, while seeming to demonstrate consensus, are in fact based on differing political viewpoints. These differences were illustrated above: some members were stressing the importance of democratic participation because of a commitment to individual freedom and equality of opportunity, while others saw the importance of the promotion of a collectivist ideology. These differences have not been confronted in RCCT. Similarly, the acceptance of the principle of collective leadership, has not allowed the acknowledgement of a leadership clique, which as Freeman argues, is an inevitable reality in organisations.

Conflict within RCCT has emerged periodically. Structures in the form of the occasional 'maintenance workshops' have been introduced to allow members the opportunity for airing grievances and 'speaking bitterness'. In the maintenance workshop of July 1984 the need for assertiveness training and the development of 'arbitration skills' was raised. This seems to point to a greater awareness in the organisation of conflict management and the need to acknowledge conflict. Over the years members who have not subscribed to feminism have left the organisation. The acceptance of a feminist perspective seems to have become an unofficial criterion for membership of the organisation. The membership has therefore become more homogeneous over time.

Participatory democracy, as previously discussed, requires a degree of openness and trust in order to succeed in the sharing of responsibility amongst the membership. Within RCCT the relatively homogeneous membership i.e. all petty bourgeois, predominantly white women, has assisted the process. The common feminist principles which are shared by the majority of members, have acted as 'cement' within the organisation, thus promoting a degree of solidarity amongst the members. In general, consensus has been assumed amongst the members. One of the outcomes of this assumption is that conflict of interests and political differences have rarely been acknowledged. This illustrates an ambiguity within the organisation between the assumed consensus on the one hand and the commitment to 'openness and honesty with one another' on the other. In recent months there seems to have been a movement amongst some members towards more openness about the differences and potential conflict amongst the membership.

THEORETICAL KNOWLEDGE

Nonformal education within RCCT, as illustrated in the description of the training course, emphasises experiential learning. It de-emphasises theory. The theory that is taught relates to a feminist analysis of rape, and other specific issues concerning rape and the rape survivor. The theory and practice in the training course are integrated as far as possible. The assumption is made that all people have the capacity to participate fully, therefore the format needs to be non-threatening, and person-centred. Many aspects of the organisational structures and practices reflect this concern. Within the organisation there appears to have been little discussion concerning macro-theoretical issues, such as the location of RCCT in the broader context, or its location within the different feminist schools of thought. These issues have most often been raised at the national conference which are attended by a small percentage of the total membership. The discussions of macro-theoretical issues in all probability occur informally amongst a small group of the organisation's ideologues, who often are the same people as those who attend the national conferences.

The lack of theoretical discussion within RCCT may relate to the basic feminist framework which has been adopted, and which is similar to that of radical humanism where experience and feelings are more important than theory; where there is a belief in the equality of everyone and therefore opposition to the imposition of a 'correct theory'. The lack of discussion of feminism itself perhaps reflects the need felt within the organisation to encourage solidarity amongst women whose aim is to challenge their own oppression. One of the implications of this is the tendency not to acknowledge the conflicting positions held by the different membership on feminism.

ACTION AND REFLECTION

RCCT is composed of volunteers who offer particular services to rape survivors and their families. The active members are involved in the provision of these services. They generally respond to requests for assistance. The committees which are in charge of particular service provision meet occasionally to plan and organise the work. For example the counselling committee meets regularly to report and discuss cases. Reports of the committees are made to the monthly GM. Occasional workshops for members are also held to focus on either specific areas of activity, like public speaking, or organisational issues in general. There are therefore some structures for reflection on activities.

Regular and indepth reflection on the work of RCCT is made difficult for a number of reasons. Some of these relate to: the voluntary nature of their membership; the time lag between GMs; the very different levels of involvement of the membership, with a few members devoting a great deal of time to the organisation. As discussed above, there is very limited critical reflection on issues which relate to the relationship of RCCT to the broader context.

ACCOUNTABILITY – INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL

As previously discussed, the composition and the organisational structure of RCCT has promoted a high degree of internal accountability amongst the membership. There has been limited external accountability to outside groupings or institutions.

It seems that RCCT has been able,to some degree, to be insulated from the external context. On the one hand it has limited financial expenditure therefore does not need to be accountable to funders. On the other hand, the feminist framework gives the members a common framework within which they can operate, and which is not directly dependent on the local context. It links them to the international feminist community.

This 'insulation' is however only partial. Examples have been elaborated in the first section of the case study which demonstrate the influence of the macro context on the micro organisational processes. An illustration is the concern amongst the informal leadership of RCCT to take up the challenge presented by the critics of bourgeois feminism. Some of the membership acknowledge that feminism in its present bourgeois form has limited relevance for the majority of black women. There is a desire to develop an indigenous feminism which can be applicable, but this in itself is problematic for RCCT. The composition of the RCCT membership and the focus of the organisation, militate against the possibilities for a leading role by RCCT in the development of a more widely applicable feminism. These problems however have not deterred members from attempting to move closer to the more radical, extra-parliamentary movement, and so begin to develop their services to meet the needs of a wider constituency.

While there has been limited accountability to external groupings by RCCT, the external context has influenced to a degree what is possible within RCCT. The proliferation of radical community and worker organisations and the formation of UDF and CAL have created the climate which has enabled the more radical grouping within the organisation to gain the leadership of the RCCT.

In Part Six judgements will be offered as to the value of the theoretical tools for the analysis of self-education within community organisations.

NOTES TO PART V

Chapter Twelve

1. 'Zakhe' is a Xhosa word meaning 'build yourself'.
2. 'Contradiction' I define in A. Gouldner's terms 1980 THE TWO MARXISMS London: Mac Millan Press p. 169

> 'I use contradiction to refer to a situation in which persons pursuing projects encounter alternatives, such that the choice of one alternative necessarily entails some loss of, or places some limit on, the use of the other.'

3. The research processes were recorded in a diary: pages DP 161 - DP 932
4. For example see the talks presented at the National Forum in June 1983. There was also an anonymous paper being circulated at the time which outlined perspectives on 'The National Democratic Struggle'.
5. The term 'progressive' is used to refer to people or organisations on the broad left of the political spectrum.
6. An incident which usefully illustrates the importance of following the informal code occured at the time the PR group was preparing for the workshop. In early May 1983 a group of radical academics at UCT, who were active members of community organisations, issued an invitation to a number of resource agencies to discuss problems and issues which related to the agencies' roles and their relationships with the mass based community organisations. I was visiting one organisation at the time the invitation arrived. There were strong reactions from three members present. For example: Why didn't they work through their organisations? Who gave them a mandate? Who do they think they are? On the evening of the scheduled meeting letters from two organisations, and representatives from others, questioned the legitimacy of the group to call such a meeting. The meeting disintegrated with no further action planned.
7. CFCIA later changed its name to Veritas.
8. B. Hirson 1979 YEAR OF FIRE, YEAR OF ASH London: ZED Press, p. 84.
9. Black Review 1974/75, p. 120.
10. This was suggested in interviews with two of the committee members on 30-8-84 and 15-8-84.
11. For example the SACC had held a consultation meeting in Pietermaritzburg in 1978 where a local economist presented a paper: J. Maree 'The Dimensions and Causes of Unemployment and Underemployment in South Africa'.
12. See the pamphlet 'Community Action', September, 1977; published by FSD for a description of the squatter struggles.
13. FSD Annual Report 1978, pages 18 and 19.
14. The names of the members have been changed.

15. This point was made in interviews (24/8/82) with two members of the executive at the time.
16. See Zakhe COOPERATIVE EDUCATION MATERIALS No date.
17. From 1980 Zakhe has had one main funder from Holland. The funders have from all available data had a very amicable relationship with the organisation.
18. Interview 11/9/84
19. Mentioned in interviews with three of the staff in Sept.1982
20. See Grassroots Newsletter March 1983, Vol 4, No 2, for a description of the KTC struggle.
21. Mentioned in interviews with all 6 staff in Sept. 1982
22. The description of the evaluation is based on my participation during the full two weeks.
23. Interview with Bill on the 11/9/84
24. Interview with Sindi 8/10/84
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. Interview 30/8/84 with Merle the first coordinator of Zakhe.

Chapter Thirteen

The references for this case study have been incorporated into the text.

Chapter Fourteen

28. The six interviewees were chosen because of their specific contributions or perspectives on the organisation: one was a key founding member, two joined as part of the group from UCT's Women's Movement in 1979 and have continued to be centrally involved, one joined in 1981 and is an important ideologue in the organisation, one withdrew from the organisation because of disillusionment with some of the practices - she has now become active once more, and the sixth person was one of the few older, married members.
29. C. Walker 1982 WOMEN AND RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA London: Onyx Press Ltd. p. 7
30. J. Cock et al 'Women and changing relations of control' in SOUTH AFRICAN REVIEW ONE Johannesburg: Ravan Press p. 280
31. For example, 'UWO Organising Women' in NUSAS 1983 BEYOND REFORM THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE Cape Town: NUSAS
32. J. Cole '"When your life is bitter you do something": Women and sqatting in the Western Cape, - tracing the origins of Crossroads and the role of women in its struggle.' Dept.of Economic History UCT

33. Articles in SOLIDARITY CAPE ACTION LEAGUE NEWS April/May 1984 and June/July 1984
34. This was how the older members described the newcomers.
35. The history of the UCT Women's Movement has not yet been written. Insights into its history were obtained from interviews with two people who were members in the mid to late 1970s.
36. An example given to me in the interviews,of the popular literature, was S. Rowbotham 1974 WOMEN, RESISTANCE AND REVOLUTION USA: Penguin
37. 'Feminist' in this context is used to describe women who are concerned with the struggle for women's rights.
38. The organisation has an anti-apartheid ethos - this is reflected in newsletters e.g. Feb. 1983 and in Minutes e.g. 24/10/81. I am assuming that the members feel comfortable with that ethos.
39. Interview with A, a founding member, on 10/5/84.
40. Perlman quoted in Chapter Four
41. SOUTH AFRICAN OUTLOOK Nov.1984
42. An interview with B., who joined RCCT in 1978, on 16/5/84
43. An interview with C., who joined RCCT in 1980, on 20/5/84
44. The questionnaires were sent out to the 104 active and inactive members through the newsletter. There were 39 i.e. 37.5% returned. See appendix.
45. Interview with C *op. cit.*
46. Interview with D., who joined RCCT in 1980, on 6/7/84
47. J. Freeman 1975 THE POLITICS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION New York: Longman Inc.
48. Interview with E., who is one of the few members with children, on 6/7/84

PART VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Chapter Fifteen

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of Part Six is to interpret the data that has been presented in order to achieve the stated aim of the investigation which is:

> To describe and explain the educational practices within the community organisations at a particular historical juncture.

The theoretical tools, which were developed from both the literature and from the initial period of participant observation in the research process, will be used to guide the discussions. The 'tools' included: the relationship between macro and micro organisational contexts, and the four integrated organisational processes – action, critical reflection, theoretical knowledge and participatory democratic practices.

The discussion in this chapter will focus on the two major areas of concern for the case studies – that is the relationship between the macro and micro organisational contexts, and the internal functioning of the organisations. The value of the analytical tools for the analysis of self-education within community organisations will be assessed in the process, as will the significance of the self-educational practices in relation to their macrocontext.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MACRO CONTEXT AND THE MICRO ORGANISATIONALCONTEXT

While this study has acknowledged from the outset the important influence of the broader context on the internal processes within organisations, it has also acknowledged that it is very difficult to demonstrate this dialectical relationship. The ways used to show the relationships have included the following:

1. A description of the broader social, political and economic contexts in which the three organisations originated and developed;
2. A detailed account of the origins and philosophies of the organisations which link back to the broader context;
3. A description of the membership of the organisations in terms of gender, age, race classification, political persuasion and social class;
4. A detailed history of changes in the goals,strategies and structures within the organisations – these changes were also related back to developments in the social context;
5. Linked to (4), was a focus on the democratic theories which were being applied within the organisations at diferent times; as democratic theories pertain both to the way relationships are ordered on a micro level and the broader ordering of society it was hoped that this focus would illuminate a relationship between the two levels; and finally
6. A focus on 'critical incidents' which were common to all three case studies – the impact of the growth and development of the UDF and CAL on the organisations during the period of the study provided a useful focus, as did the changing use of the term 'democracy' within community organisations in Cape Town at the time.

Within the literature discussed in Part Three, the relationship between educational practices and the broader context, was stressed. However, the theorists do not elaborate on the relationship beyond stating that education is political and should be linked to political action. Freire describes the importance of the 'transitional epoch' for educational practices but he does not elaborate explicitly on this. The common element in the development of the educational practices for all three theorists and for the case studies in Cape Town seems to be the crisis of bourgeois hegemony in each of the societies being written about – Italy in the early 1920s, Brazil in the early 1960s, the USA in the 1960s, and South Africa in the late 1970s. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt to describe the nature of these crises, although it would seem to be an important future project in order to understand more fully what the relationships are between the forms that educational practices have taken and the broader contexts.

For the moment, the relationships between the micro educational practices within the case studies and the broader context will be elaborated by focusing on specific aspects that emerge from the strategies listed above. The first focus will fall on:

The origins of the organisations in relation to the context

Within Part Four of this study the broader social, political, economic and ideological milieux were described out of which the community agencies grew and in which the organisations operated. The importance of understanding the establishment of the organisations within their broader political and economic contexts was illustrated particularly in the cases of CRIC and Zakhe where both were partially established in response to the economic and political circumstances at the time.

CRIC was established at a time when specific interest groups within private enterprise were wanting to promote reform through the encouragment of a variety of private initiatives. They were wanting to promote coloured upward social mobility. It was also a time when, after a period of severe State repression, radicals were looking for ways of promoting alternative counter-hegemonic educational initiatives. Zakhe was established by radical community workers from the BCM, the church and private community work agencies who were responding to the escalating unemployment situation. The BC members appeared to see it as an oppportunity to continue the work of the BCM, which had suffered severe set backs with the banning of their organisations in 1977. Some members also saw it as an opportunity to promote radical consciousness-raising educational activities.

The origins and the social location of the organisations clearly influenced their goals, structures and strategies. In CRIC the tension between the 'progressive' community work and business goals was shown to permeate the organisation. The struggle over organisational form between the community workers and the older more traditional trustees (who were business and academic leaders) in FSD demonstrated the differences in values and norms between staff and trustees. The CRIC structure developed out of FSD; it had to conform to traditional forms which would be acceptable to the funders and the FSD trustees. The one change to the traditional structure, as epitomised by FSD, was the inclusion of the director and a staff representative as full members of the controlling Board. This reform went some way to satisfying the 'community work' ethos which supported the participatory democratic notion of everyone being involved in all levels of the organisation.

In the case of RCCT the origin of the organisation determined to a large degree its form and its strategies. As described, RCCT was modelled on similar feminist organisations in North America and Western Europe. The norms and values were similar to those of the 'young branch' of the Women's

Movement described by Freeman (see Part Two). The predominant view of 'good' organisational practice amongst the RCCT members resonated with the forms adopted by other rape crisis organisations elsewhere. A particular feminist view of 'good' organisational practice was adopted uncritically into the Cape Town context. The form of 'good' organisation had thus become reified; the form was used in an ahistorical way which did not take context into account. The particular participatory democratic organisational theory, which resonated in part with other notions of 'good' organisational practice amongst community workers and activists in Cape Town at the time, became a determining force in the definition of RCCT.

In Zakhe the initiators of the organisation were influenced in part by the BCM, radical Christian groups and the theory and practice of community work. After the first year they were also influenced by the theory and practice of producer and consumer cooperatives. With the initiators of Zakhe all being community workers there was a tendency, in line with the dominant community work ethos, for the inclusion of the staff on the controlling structure. However, with the internal differences between members a struggle for power developed which culminated in structural changes which swung power in favour of the staff.

From these illustrations from the empirical material the origins of the organisations are shown to be inextricably linked to prevailing political, ideological, economic or historical forces within the society. Along with other determining factors theory was seen also to be a material force. The origins of organisations were shown to play an important role in defining the structures or strategies within the organisations; they are thus crucial to the full understanding of self-educational practices.

The biographies of the members will be discussed next as an illustration of the linkage between macro and micro contexts.

Profiles of the membership and the broader context

Factors which were described as inevitably having some influence on the functioning of the organisations were those which related to the members themselves. Within the cases the importance of ideologies, race classification, social class, and political affiliations, were some of the important features which seemed to have made an impact on organisational practices. It was however beyond the scope of the investigation to measure or compare the impact of the different elements on organisational practice. Some general observations can be made.

Within the three service and resource agencies it was not suprising to find that the members had relatively high levels of education. The literature had identified the members of voluntary associations as being predominantly middle class; also the agencies had service functions which presupposed certain knowledge, skills and experience if their objectives were to be achieved. While several of the members of CRIC and Zakhe were from working class backgrounds, and some of them might have retained a working class orientation, it could be argued that their educational levels located them within the petit bourgeoisie.

The composition of the membership according to race classification varied with Zakhe from 1982 only employing blacks, RCCT attracting predominantly white women, and CRIC deliberately employing coloured, white and African staff. The possible potential impact of the racially differentiated membership on the operation of the agencies, was difficult to assess, and was an issue beyond the scope of this investigation. No attempt at any analysis has therefore been made on that level. The only impact of race classification on the members which could be stated with any certainty would be of historical significance. For example, members' race classification would in all likelihood have exposed them to different political traditions and ideologies as in the case of certain of the coloured members who were exposed to the NEUM, and most of the black membership who had been influenced to a degree by the BCM. However even these observations need to be made with circumspection, as the data from the CRIC study revealed that differences in political affiliation cut across any 'racial' divisions. Some black and white staff supported the non-racial tendency, while others were not concerned with 'party' politics, and still other black staff tended towards the BC position.

In RCCT the composition of the predominantly white, female membership has affected what is possible within the organisation. For example, the possibilities for RCCT to play a leading role in the development of an indigenous feminism, which is able to answer the criticisms of those on the left who perceive RCCT as a bourgeois feminist organisation, are remote because of the structural location of their membership.

The data showed that the attempts of RCCT to move in a more radical direction have been fairly difficult.

While the empirical data concerning the membership has not revealed any degree of causality between features of the membership and internal organisational practices, it is reasonable to assume that the biographies of the members impacted on the functioning of the organisations to varying degrees at different times. The impact of race classification, political ideologies, social class, and gender would all need to be studied far more closely if any detailed understanding of their influence on organisational practices was to be obtained. It is thus impossible from this study to gauge the importance of the different characteristics of membership on self-educational practices.

GOALS, STRATEGIES, STRUCTURES AND DEMOCRATIC THEORIES

Within the case studies a detailed account of changes to the goals, strategies and structures was given in order to identify linkages between the micro organisational practices and the broader context. The democratic theories which were operative at different times were identified in order to gain insight into the underlying assumptions being made about social change within the organisations. In the process of analysing the empirical data the question of accountability became an important indicator of the predominant democratic theories. It raised the important issue of authority within the case studies.

This discussion will focus primarily on the the questions of accountability of the case studies to external groups or individuals. As was discussed in Parts Two and Three, this question has been an area of interest for a number of the theorists.

Freire, Gramsci, Jackson, and Lovett were some of the theorists who emphasised the importance of educational practices being linked to broader political activity. However, it was only Gramsci who spoke in more detailed terms of how this should be done.

At times in Gramsci's writings he stresses the central role of the political party as the most important agent for the development of organic intellectuals of the working class. He argued that critical, intellectual activity needed to be extended in close linkage with the practice of the counter-hegemonic movement. At other times, particularly in his earlier writings on the Factory Councils, he tended to stress the importance of the spontaneity and the autonomy of the Councils. At that stage he did not see a central role for the trade unions and the political party. Thus there is ambiguity in Gramsci's writings on the role of the political party. Gombin[1] recognised this ambiguity, and has argued that Gramsci did not fully resolve the tension between the need for spontaneity on the one hand and political organisation on the other.

The empirical data provides useful insights into the relationship between the agencies and the external 'party'. The issue of external accountability amongst the agencies has changed at different times in their histories, and reflects changing perceptions of democratic practices within the organisations. A useful way of observing the ongoing process of negotiation and contestation of the meaning of 'good' organisational practice, is to focus on the meaning of authority in the organisations. At times authority has been placed primarily with individuals or with the collective, and on occasion with an outside doctrine or 'party'. A closer analysis of authority within the agencies gives useful insights into these changes, and also into the general perceptions concerning the agencies' roles in social change.

Within CRIC authority had been delegated by the Board to the director. A dual system developed over time, where the director increasingly delegated authority to the individual members, and to the group as a whole. Internally structures were built which ensured a degree of individual and collective responsibility, and which limited the authority of the director. Generally, in both its services and in its internal organisation, CRIC seems to have emphasised the authority of individuals. It has seen social change primarily through a change in individuals. Particularly in the earlier years, CRIC has seen the change in attitudes coming through social contact. A consensus rather than a conflict view of society has thus been observable. On the other hand, a degree of authority has resided with the non-racial staff collective. The placing of authority with the staff seems to have been partially motivated by an attempt to develop a vision of 'a hoped for' future society; or in Gramsci's terms it could be described as attempting to build the embryonic form of the new society in the womb of the old; or in Illich's terms, building a counter-cultural collective in the present to serve as a model for the future. Within their dual structure both the liberal representative democratic theory and the participatory democratic theory can be identified within CRIC (see chapter 3).

In RCCT authority in decision-making has generally been placed with the collective. Authority has been delegated officially to individuals with regard to the implementation of services. Collective leadership, with the anarchist implication of 'no authority' was emphasised. This tendency was described in Part Two and refers to the tendency amongst the membership not to want to delegate authority to individuals. But as Lovett[2] was quoted as saying, it is not the delegation of authority which is the problem, but the derivation of authority. Authority in RCCT has also, in very general terms, been placed in 'feminism', the meaning of which has remained very broad, and ill-defined. RCCT seems generally to have seen its role in social change in terms of individual conversion to feminism. The process of organisation, as with CRIC, seems to be based on the desire amongst some of the membership to build in the present a vision of a possible, more egalitarian society. A notion of political practice which was informed by the participatory democratic theory outlined above was dominant within the organisation.

In Zakhe authority was initially delegated by the Executive to the coordinator, who attempted to share that authority with other staff members in an ad hoc manner. Later authority was placed in the collective, with the concomitant tendency towards 'no authority'. As the focus of Zakhe's work changed in the context of the increase in oppositional community and worker organisations in the wider society, some authority was placed with the representatives of organisations that were being served.

Zakhe formed a part of the new UDF political grouping. Authority was placed, both through the consultation committee and through direct involvement by staff in UDF and its affiliated organisations, in the emergent 'party'. Zakhe's perception of its role in social change appeared to shift as was illustrated in the change in the delegation of authority. When authority was placed in the staff collective change seemed to be perceived primarily in terms of individual change of attitude. More recently, Zakhe has placed some authority in the external 'party' i.e. they have given certain powers to the consultative committee which is made up of representatives from UDF affiliates. Change has been perceived as coming about through collective action.

The different interpretations of 'good' organisational practice within the three agencies have had important implications for the participatory democratic processes within the organisations. The internal practices will be discussed in more detail later. For the moment it is sufficient to note that from the empirical data it seems that CRIC has been consistently most able to achieve a sharing of responsibilty amongst all the staff. CRIC has only been partially dependent on external factors for the achievement of its goals. The strength of the commitment to internal accountability seems to have reinforced and encouraged the achievement of internal process goals. These in turn have enhanced the possibilities for the sharing of responsibility in CRIC. The organisation has not been accountable to external parties in any structured way except to sponsors through the Board.

Zakhe, unlike CRIC, has become increasingly dependent on the developments within the external context for the formulation and implementation of its service strategies. It has been more dependent also on collective leadership, which has been inclined to lead to the anarchist tendency of 'no authority'. This resulted in authority being delegated in an ad hoc way – this seems to have contributed to a lack of clarity amongst some staff concerning their roles and functions. The external accountability of the organisation seems to have detracted from its ability to be accountable internally. This in turn has affected the possibilities for the sharing of responsibility amongst its members. Zakhe has shifted from a form of liberal representative democracy, to participatory democracy and then to a combination of participatory and representative – this latter development moved them nearer to the Marxist view as described in Part Two.

The empirical data raises very important questions about the practical application of the theory propounded by several theorists including Gramsci, which has stressed both internal, democratic processes and the commitment to the counter-hegemonic political movement. There appears to be a fundamental contradiction between political action and internal participatory democracy.

For Gramsci an important responsibility for the development of organic intellectuals lay with the political party. At the time of the Factory Councils it lay with the Councils themselves who gave political education to the workers. In the South African context a central role for the political party in the education of the organisational members is problematic. On one hand political 'parties' which appear to have the support of a large percentage of the population, like the ANC, have been forced into exile and are unable to operate openly. On the other hand, there are several competing political tendencies amongst the broad left in Cape Town. Therefore no one political 'party' exists which can openly facilitate the development of coherent theoretical understandings amongst a broad cross section of the membership of organisations. Publications are produced by the range of 'parties', and occasional nonformal educational activities are run for their membership and other interested persons. In the final analysis, however, the political education of members of organisations is most often the responsibility of individuals and/or the organisations themselves (many of whom are in turn affiliated to the 'parties').

The repressive nature of the South African State and the political divisions which exist (for example between the NEUM and the UDF), are two factors which seem to inhibit the potentially significant, direct educational role of the 'party' in relation to the agencies. These two factors also raise serious questions about the wisdom of agencies becoming too directly linked to a particular 'party' or faction. As the Zakhe case study illustrates, accountability to one grouping has important implications for the organisation's ability to provide services for a broad grouping of the oppressed people. One of the possible implications of close linkage to a 'party', and one which could be observed at a point not only in Zakhe but also in agencies like Grassroots Community Newsletter, is the possibility of having to service an ever decreasing number of organisations and individuals as the political factions split into ever smaller groupings.[3]

While it has been argued above that close linkage to a 'party' seems to have negative consequences both in terms of the ability of the organisation to share responsibility amongst its members, and in terms of providing services for a broader cross section of the oppressed people, the empirical data has shown that external accountability is important if the organisation is to maintain an advocacy role in relation to social change. CRIC has tended to focus most of its energy on the maintenance of the high standard of its services and on internal staff development. Both these foci can be conservative practices in the eyes of groups that place a high priority on political action. A similar tendency is observable in RCCT.

It seems that if agencies aim both to develop their staff and to contribute social change, opportunities have to be created to ensure a relationship with the progressive political groupings which will not necessarily imply that the organisations 'belong' to a faction or 'party'. This type of relationship has developed occasionally through, for example, members in their individual capacities being members of different groupings and through consultation with political groupings at the time of annual planning and evaluation. Organisational practices need to be reassessed regularly in the light of macro socio-political developments as organisational decisions imply political decisions. This issue will be discussed more fully in the next section.

Focusing on the questions of authority and accountabiity (both central components of the democratic theories) has proved very fruitful in identifying linkages between internal micro practices and macro social theory underlying these practices. Thus, democratic theories have provided a vehicle for the unpacking of certain underlying assumptions about social change. They have also allowed the observation of ongoing negotiation and contestation around the issue of democracy.

The final part of this section will focus on 'critical incidents' which illustrate further the linkages between internal organisational practices and prevailing social conditions at particular times in the organisations' history.

CRITICAL INCIDENTS

'DEMOCRACY'

The three community agencies which have provided the empirical data for the study, have all been operating in Cape Town at a particular historical 'moment'. It has been at a time of social crisis when a popular-democratic discourse amongst extra-parliamentary opposition groups had reemerged. As the empirical evidence has shown, each of the agencies had been influenced in different ways by the emergence of the new community and worker organisations. It appears that the popular-democratic discourse which accompanied the growth of the new organisations resonated with the prevailing community work discourse which was prevalent within agencies.

Zakhe, CRIC and RCCT had all shown concern to facilitate the personal development of their members through varying forms of participation. Forms of participatory democracy had been tried in each of the organisations before 1980. There was a concern particularly within Zakhe and CRIC to develop black leadership, while RCCT was committed to the development of women. In the organisations before 1981 there had been no explicit mention of 'democracy'. In Zakhe the organisational model which was inspirational was the cooperative.

It was late in 1981 that the word 'democracy' was used in Zakhe for the first time to describe cooperative organisation. In CRIC late in 1981 there was the first explicit concern for 'democratic' processes within the organisation. This was at the time of the appointment of their new director. From then on conscious and calculated actions were taken to improve the 'democratic' functioning of CRIC. The term thus had a material impact. In RCCT in 1979 with the influx of new members from NUSAS and the Women's Movement, there were the beginnings of a more explicit and ongoing debate about the need for a 'democratic' organisation. This debate had become increasingly important in the organisation and from 1983 was more clearly influenced by events within the broader political arena.

In 1980 with the publication of Grassroots Community Newsletter in Cape Town, and with the proliferation of popular struggles and organisations, the counter-hegemonic groupings began to use 'democracy' as a unifying slogan. Content was given to the slogan through ongoing struggles around both theory and practice. The meaning of 'democracy' was debated and negotiated continuously. Within Zakhe, CRIC and RCCT the empirical data has shown that changes occurred in the interpretation of 'democracy' which have affected organisational practices. The struggles around 'democracy' were thus manifested in concrete changes to practices. These were discussed above.

The use of the term 'democracy' was a symbol of solidarity amongst those organisations which perceived themselves to be 'progressive'. Zakhe, CRIC and RCCT were in different ways established as oppositional to the status quo. There was a desire on the part of several of the members of the three agencies to be aligned with the counter-hegemonic groupings such as the UDF.

'Democracy' therefore seems to have become an important ideological concept for each of the agencies. On the one hand 'democracy' resonated with discourses which already existed within the organisations. On the other hand, for some members it was an important unifying concept, which linked certain oppositional organisations within a loose counter-hegemonic movement.

FORMATION OF UDF AND CAL

An important illustration of the dialectical relationship between the macro context and the micro organisational processes, was the impact of the formation of UDF and CAL on the three organisations Zakhe, CRIC and RCCT. This illustration demonstrates the varying degrees of permeability of each agencies' 'organisational boundaries'.

Zakhe was most directly involved with activities relating to the establishment and the ongoing work of the UDF. For Zakhe the establishment of UDF identified more clearly the organisations with whom it was to work. During 1983 the political differences amongst 'progressive' political groupings reemerged. (see Part Four) Political camps were more clearly defined. Accountability for Zakhe began to mean accountability to the main organisations within the UDF. Zakhe's services came to be directed to a specific set of organisations. The structure of the organisation was altered to build in a mechanism of accountability to UDF affiliated organisations. As the links came to be strengthened between Zakhe and UDF the more important accountability to the external grouping became. Concern for internal accountability amongst some of the members appeared to decrease proportionately.

Within the PR group the effects of the reemergence of the divergent political groupings was also felt. Just prior to the launching of UDF, and before the 'Self-Management Workshop', one of the members of the group withdrew. Only later did the Group realise that the member had become involved in CAL. He no longer felt that he could remain in the PR group which consisted of predominantly UDF orientated people. This was in keeping with a general realignment of people within the newly formed political groupings at this time (see Part Four).

In CRIC the launching of UDF and the concomitant reemergence of the different political groupings also resulted in political differences amongst the staff being highlighted more than before. The political developments within the broader community provided the opportunity for differences amongst staff to be aired more easily. For example, the issue of 'race' was raised and debated amongst staff on different occasions from 1982 onwards. The issue of CRIC's accountability was also raised at that time with some black staff challenging the organisation's relevance to the black community.

While CRIC was affected to a degree by the external political developments amongst counter-hegemonic groupings, the evidence seems to indicate that its service commitments, its funding sources, its staff and its modus operandi all seemed to temper any strong, direct influence by these groupings on its daily practices. Accountability to the internal staff members remained an important feature of CRIC's organisational practice.

RCCT was also affected by the launching of UDF. The RCCT newsletter carried an editorial comment on the launching of UDF in which members were encouraged to support the new political initiative. The political climate that prevailed at the time of the launching of UDF appeared to give the more radical members a degree of influence within the organisation which they did not necessarily have before. The UDF gave white radicals a political home. It encouraged white radicals to identify themselves with the national struggle for liberation. Within RCCT in 1983 for the first time the question was raised concerning the relationship between rape and other forms of 'structural violence'.The radical members have been able to become the dominant force within the organisation. It is reasonable to assume that the general political climate assisted this development. The rhetoric of RCCT has become more radical since 1983, although the changes in the practices of the organisation have been less obvious.

From the data it is clear that the UDF made a discernible impact on RCCT. However this impact was tempered, it seems, because of the service commitments of the organisation, the commitment to the struggle for the rights of women first and foremost, and the commitment to a fairly coherent feminist ideology which acted as 'cement' for the members internally, and linked the organisation internationally into a diverse network of feminist organisations. The RCCT members therefore were not solely dependent on the developments within the local environment to sustain their membership and their primary activities.

Thus the build up to and the formation of UDF affected each of the agencies to varying degrees and in a variety of ways. The goals and functions of the organisations, plus the dominant ideological commitments within the organisations, appeared to be important factors influencing the extent of the impact that the formation of CAL and UDF had on the functioning of the organisations.

The two 'critical incidents' have shown the permeability of the organisations' boundaries to outside influences. They also showed that the degree of influence/permeability is governed by a number of factors such as organisational goals and political commitments.

In summary

The discussion thus far has shown clearly that the macro context exerts very real influence on the micro organisational processes. The ideological, the political, and the economic milieux in which the organisations operate determine to a large degree what is possible within the organisations. The biographies of the membership also play a determining role. Thus the dialectical relationship between the macro/micro contexts for the study of self-education within community organisations is crucial.

In order to 'describe and explain' the self-educational practices within the case studies the relationship between the macro and micro contexts needed to be identified. The analysis of this relationship was recognised to be methodologically problematic as no causal relationship could be anticipated between the different levels. The 'tool', which was selected earlier i.e. the relationship between the macro and micro contexts, needed to be refined if it was to be useful. This was done in a number of ways, i.e. by focusing on ongoing contestation over democratic theory (within this accountabilty and authority provided useful pivots for an understanding of this aspect), by studying the origins of the organisations which included studying both the context and the original members, and by identifying contemporary, common 'critical incidents' to act as foci for analysis.

INTERNAL ORGANISATIONAL PROCESSES – SHARING RESPONSIBILITY

In this study it has been argued that self-education within the case studies has consisted of informal educational practices which have been integral to the organisational processes. For example informal education has been promoted through the decision-making structures, through arrangements for ongoing planning and evaluation, and through mechanisms for the sharing of skills and information. Self-education has also consisted of nonformal education which has taken the forms of workshops, meetings, skills training strategies and so on.

The data has shown that each of the cases studies has had both instrumental and expressive goals. The expressive goals have been concerned with the development of the people within the organisations. The underlying assumption that has been made by each of the agencies is that the development of the members will occur through participation in the management and the administration of the work. The sharing of responsibility amongst the membership has therefore been an important expressive goal.

In this section the self-education within the case studies will be critically analysed by probing the empirical data with the help of the four integrative conceptual tools i.e. participatory democratic practices, theoretical knowledge, action and reflection. Within the literature, as discussed in Parts Two and Three, theorists have argued that these four components are essential for the development of the leadership potential of the membership within organisations. While this is not an evaluative study, some pointers to the appropriateness of this strategy for the development of the potential of the membership have and will be made as far as this is possible from the data available. The main aim of this section, however, is to 'describe and explain' the self-educational practices within community organisations. The usefulness of the 'tools' for the task at hand will be assessed in the process.

Participatory democratic organisational practices

Participatory democratic theory has provided the framework within which all three of the organisations have operated. Individual freedom and greater equality amongst all the members have been important and sometimes competing values. The underlying assumptions about human beings which inform this theory, are that everyone, given the opportunity, is capable of developing leadership abilities. The development of leadership abilities amongst particular groups of the oppressed has been an important focal point of activity for the organisations. Zakhe and CRIC have been concerned particularly with black leadership development and RCCT with that of women. The self-education strategies have been mainly concerned with this 'empowering' process.

The importance of the participatory democratic processes within organisations has been stressed by a range of social theorists, including Gramsci,Freire, and most recently by those advocating Learning By Participation (LBP). The roles of the teacher /facilitator /coordinator in the writings have given useful insights into the varying views on leadership within these processes. As mentioned above, there is the assumption within these writings that everyone is potentially capable of developing leadership qualities. However, there are differing views on the educational processes involved. Freire and Illich tend not to want the teacher /coordinator to play a directive role. Strongly influenced by the humanistic psychologists, they do not want the teacher to impose a particular view of the world. There is a contradiction in this position as their very methodology has been developed because they have a view of the world which is based on particular critiques of capitalism.

Gramsci, on the other hand, believes that a Marxist analysis is the correct analysis and should therefore be taught as such. While the dialogical relationship between the coordinator and learners in the Freirian model is inclined to become reified as 'good' educational practice, Gramsci argues that the relationship must be determined by the political goal. There is no one form of 'good' practice.

The empirical data have shown that there are a number of interpretations of participatory democratic practices and also a number of contradictions imbedded within these practices. Within this section the varying interpretations will be described and explained and the contradictions will be highlighted.

Within the literature the democratic participatory processes are stressed as being a crucial part of the educational practices. However, there is no detailed account of what 'democratic participatory processes' entail. The case studies provide important insights on this issue.

Firstly, it is necessary to make a general point about a common misconception concerning organisational practices which was evident both in the community education literature, discussed in Part Three, and in at least two of the three case studies. This point has been implicit in much of the discussion so far.

In both the description of Zakhe and that of RCCT particular participatory organisational forms had been identified by the members of the agencies as 'good', and as signifying 'progressive' organisational practice. A cooperative organisational model in the case of Zakhe, and a model emanating from the Women's Movement in the case of RCCT, had been adopted and promoted as 'good' in themselves. In previous theoretical discussions in Part Two, it has been argued that organisational strategies do not 'belong' to any particular political tendencies. Gramsci was quoted as saying that above all 'organisational questions are political questions' and they need to be constantly interpreted and reinterpreted in the light of theory. Organisational practices, Gramsci argued, have to be based on a theory of the state and a theory of social change. Organisational forms are not in themselves 'progressive'. Thus,although Gramsci has advocated the participationof,for example, the members of the Factory Councils in the planning and execution of the work, he also stressed the leading role of the political party. Participation by members in organisational practices was not an end in itself, but was a means towards the development of organic intellectuals of the working class. At different points in the history of the agencies investigated in the present study participation has been inclined to become an end in itself.

During the period in which the ideal-type co-operative form was being practiced in Zakhe, participatory democratic practice involved: in-service training over a six month period for new staff recruits which involved co-operative theory and practice; all staff participating in all decisions; the rotation of tasks such as chairing of meetings, bookkeeping, typing etc.; decision- making authority with the staff collective with minimal authority being delegated to individuals; minimal job specialisation; two-weekly planning meetings; monthly 'personal gripe' meetings; annual evaluations (on occasion with the help of an outsider); occasional skills training sessions e.g. on fund-raising; joint report writing; joint responsibility for staff appointments; and joint contact with funders. During this period in Zakhe's history there was a tendency for participation to become an end in itself. A great deal of time was allowed for the collective practices. However, as we have seen, as the context changed and the political goals became more explicit so the democratic practices adjusted. Job specialisation became more acceptable; joint decision-making continued on a weekly basis; annual planning and evaluation continued; there was less task rotation; the monthly 'personal gripe' sessions fell away; very occasional staff training programmes continued to occur although new staff have not been given any comprehensive induction; authority was given to an outside body to assist in the process of quarterly and annual evaluation and planning; authority was also delegated (sometimes by default) to staff in combination with ad hoc project /campaign groups.

In RCCT the participatory practices over time have not changed as dramatically as they did in Zakhe. They have included: an in-service training session for all new members where the theory and the practice of the organisation is imparted; decision-making in the monthly meetings of all members with authority delegated to specialist task groups to carry out the decisions; rotation of office-bearers and coordinators of task groups at regular intervals; shared responsibility for planning and evaluation through periodic workshops called for the purpose; occasional skills training workshops; flow of information through the circulation of the monthly newsletter. The clearest change to the structure was the appointment of an administrative coordinator, although built into the post is a one year limit on employment of a person and the requirement that the incumbent is a member of the organisation. Joint responsibility is taken for the appointment of person through the election of an ad hoc committee for the purpose who makes recommendations to the general meeting. Thus, this development does not transgress the prevailing norms concerning democratic practice in the organisation.

In CRIC participatory democracy has come to mean: participation by all members in well structured quarterly and annual planning and evaluation sessions; a structured, short induction to all aspects of CRIC's work for new recruits; job specialisation with clear delegation of job responsibilities; a director who has played a key coordinating role; elected staff representative on the Board; weekly planning and coordination meetings attended by everyone; joint responsibility for staff appointments; limited task rotation e.g. chairing of meetings and counselling at week-ends; and periodic nonformal skills training sessions. Leadership in CRIC has been clearly designated through the position of director although as staff members have gained more experience and knowledge of the operations of the organisation the leadership has tended to be shared through democratic participation.

From the above, the common elements in the three case studies' participatory democratic practices include: regular participation in decision-making; regular planning and evaluation sessions; regular sharing of information; some in-service skills training for staff; joint responsibility for new staff appointments. The main differences lie in: the degree of job specialisation which is encouraged; the amount of task rotation which takes place; and the degree to which authority is delegated to the individuals or sub-groups within the organisation and to groups outside of it.

As has been noted previously,the interpretation of participatory democratic practices has varied in response to arange of ideological, political and social factors. An ongoing process of negotiation and contestation of meaning has been discernible within the agencies. Nevertheless, there are certain essential elements within the democratic practices. These include participation in the decision-making structures, the mechanisms for regular planning and evaluation, a commitment to the sharing of skills and information in different ways. There also appear to be certain tensions and contradictions within the participatory democratic processes. These include the tension between action and reflection, theory and practice, consensus and conflict, and collectivism and individualism. The first two of these tensions will be discussed later. The latter two will be discussed here.

CONSENSUS AND CONFLICT

Participatory democratic practices, it has been argued, require a degree of openness and trust if they are to be implemented successfully. For example, information has to be readily available to all members equally if they are to be able to participate fully in decision-making. Within the case studies assumptions appear to have been made concerning the degree of consensus that exists amongst members. In each of the organisations there has been a tendency to deny the existence of conflict. An ambiguous situation has existed whereby openness and honesty is valued on the one hand, and on the other, conflict has not been acknowledged.

The tendency to play down conflict amongst the membership of organisations was also prevalent amongst the new community organisations in Cape Town in the early 1980s. The popular-democratic discourse encouraged unity across class, ideological or other divides. The formation of the UDF which was a broad anti-Apartheid Front, was an outcome of that tendency.

One of the results of the tendency to deny the conflict which, it has been argued, is an inevitable part of community organisations in the South African context, has been the lack of formal structures to deal with conflict. Conflict has tended to be viewed as an abnormal occurrence, which has been dealt with in ad hoc ways. Caucusing amongst groups of staff, for example amongst the black staff in CRIC, has tended to be seen as a betrayal of the open and supportive climate which has been propogated. Recently in CRIC the reality of conflict existing within the organisation has begun to be acknowledged with the reemergence of the various political groupings in Cape Town. This was discussed above. One of the results of this has been the development of organisational structures which attempt to take certain conflicting interests into account.

In RCCT where the membership is relatively homogeneous, but where the data has revealed the existence of conflicting political viewpoints, conflict has rarely been acknowledged. The need for unity amongst the membership, who form part of a small group of feminists in Cape Town, appears strategically to be of immense importance. The experience within RCCT has some similarities to the young branch of the women's movement, which was described earlier. Openness and support for one another have been important values within the organisation, and these have helped the process of sharing responsibility. But conflicting interests and political differences have rarely been acknowledged. Members who have not agreed with the predominant political line at a given time have most often withdrawn from the organisation. The tension between consensus and conflict is clearly illustrated in RCCT.

Within Zakhe the membership has also tended to become more homogeneous over time. From 1982 there have only been black employees working full-time for Zakhe, who support a particular grouping within the UDF. Conflict has been dealt with in an ad hoc way, with one employee informally playing a leading and directive role. Consensus decision-making has been a goal which has tended to emphasise the importance of collective leadership, and the denial of conflicting interests and viewpoints amongst staff. Leadership has effectively been given by one person, but as with RCCT, this reality has not been readily acknowledged by the members of the organisation.

The prevalence of a consensus-seeking ethos within the agencies together with the reality of conflict within the organisations, points to a contradiction within the participatory democratic theory. On the one hand, a supportive, open, consensus-seeking climate is essential for the sharing of responsibility, while on the other, this climate tends to deny the reality of conflict within the situation. This seems to result in conflict between opposing interest groups being conducted in a more clandestine way than would have been possible with the acknowledgement of conflicting interests. For example, if conflict was accepted as a reality within the organisations, caucusing would not be perceived as an aberration, but as a normal part of open organisational activity and democratic practice.

COLLECTIVISM AND INDIVIDUALISM

The tension between individualism and collectivism is central to discussions of democratic theories.

In Part Two in the discussions of democratic theories, it was pointed out that on a continuum with individualism on the one end and collectivism on the other, liberal democracy would be on the individualism end and Marxist proletarian democracy would be on the collectivism end, with participatory democracy in between the two.

The tension between individualism and collectivism was also identified in Parts Two and Three in the discussions of the various social theorists. Illich was seen to be promoting individualism; Freire it was argued was ambiguous, but in the final analysis his theory of 'conscientization' was concerned with the self-realization of the individual; Gramsci seemed to be arguing for Marx's communal individualism.[4] Within the case studies the tension between individualism and collectivism was evident. The tension was particularly clear in the ambivalent attitudes which members had towards discipline.

Discipline has been identified as an important aspect of collectivist behaviour. Makarenko[5] believes that, 'Discipline in the collective is for every single person nothing else but complete security'. He argues that the authority of the group and the individual's conscience could be harmonised into a powerful form of personal discipline through the educative influence of the collective.

CRIC which was influenced by the theories of Illich, Freire and the humanistic psychologists, has been primarily concerned with the development of individuals on the staff and as a service to individuals concerning their individual careers. Within the staff there has however been a degree of accountability to the collective. Discipline has occurred primarily through group pressure and accountability to the staff. The director has most often taken responsibility for discipline. At one stage there was an unsuccessful attempt at a sharing of this responsibility through a structured 'reflection team'. Staff found the disciplinary role difficult.

Within Zakhe there has been a clearer commitment to a 'socialist' goal than has been the case with CRIC or RCCT. The collectivist nature of their organisational structure was conceived of as an attempt to teach collectivist values as compared to the individualist values of the capitalist society. They believed that by promoting Co-operative organisation they would be promoting collectivist values, which included a value orientation and mode of conduct that emphasised social consciousness, concern for others and group solidarity.

Amongst the case studies the tension between individualism and collectivism has been most notable in Zakhe. An example was given in the case study of the tendency towards a group dependency which staff identified at the organisational evaluation of 1984. Another area where the tension has been noticeable is in the question of discipline. Staff have on several occasions acknowledged the lack of discipline both in Zakhe and amongst other progressive community organisations. They have identified this as a problem but have been unable to solve it. Within Zakhe the ideologies of individualism and collectivism have coexisted, and they have competed for ascendancy at different times. From the data it seems that the attitude of staff to discipline has for the most part reflected a laissez-faire individualism. Discipline has not been a value which has been stressed.

The tension between individualism and collectivism has also been discernible in RCCT. On one hand they have supported the person-centred values of individual growth and development, and on the other have encouraged the values of solidarity amongst all women. The collectivist structure of the organisation has encouraged collective responsibility for discipline. 'Talking bitterness', a strategy used in feminist organisations in the early 1970s and adoptedby RCCT, has been a mechanism for the airing of conflict and the dealing with discipline. The membership, as described earlier, consists of women who support either bourgeois or socialist feminism. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that given the different views, some members would be inclined to stress individualism while others would be more concerned to stress collectivism.

The radical humanism which, it has been argued, reflects key ideological strands within the agencies, has a strong commitment to individualism. Bowers[6] argues cogently that many of the neo-Marxists such as Freire and

Giroux, support individualism rather than collectivism. Cagan[7] argues that the radical educational reforms which were being propogated in the early 1970s reinforced the strong notions of individualism. She believes that for truly radical education, a collectivist education is necessary. In this process a conscious strategy to promote collectivist theory and practice would be undertaken. She also stated that the collectivist education might need to differentiate between members of the working class and those of the middle classes. The former, who might have had collectivity stressed, might need an educational strategy which stresses individual autonomy, while for middle-class members collectivity might need to be stressed to compensate for the emphasis on individuality which their socialisation would have given them.

The possible differences in the perceptions of members of different social classes with regard to individualism and collectivism has important implications for the development of collectivist education within organisations. Differences in perceptions according to social class of members of the case studies may be a factor in how the tension between individualism and collectivism has manifested itself within this investigation. However further research would be required before any observations could be made in this regard.

IN SUMMARY

While the participatory democratic practices within each of the agencies has emphasised the sharing of responsibility amongst all their members, there have been important differences in interpretiing these practices. The participatory practices have changed in reponse to internal and external circumstances. The participatory practices have therefore taken different forms in each of the agencies although there have been certain common elements in their interpretation of democratic practice. It was argued that there is no one model of 'good' organisational practice. Organisational practices cannot be decided in a vacuum, but need to be decided in relation to a theory of the state and social change. The contradiction between internal accountability and external accountability was noted in the previous section. Contradictions were identified as integral to the participatory democratic theory. The contradiction between the consensus-seeking ethos and the reality of conflict within the organisations, and the contradiction between individualism and collectivism were given as illustrations.

Theoretical knowledge

Gramsci has argued very convincingly for organisational practice to be based on a theory of the state and a theory of social change. Marxism, he argues, provides the most useful theory for understanding the society and its transition. He also refers to Marxism as the 'philosophy of praxis'. Praxis is central to his theory. The meaning he gives to 'praxis' is similar to Mao's[8] statement in his essay 'On Practice'

Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowlege rises to a higher level. Such is the whole of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, and such is the dialectical-materialist theory of uniting knowing and doing.

Practice, Gramsci believes, needs to be constantly reinterpreted in the light of theory. But praxis, as Youngman[9] points out, must be distinguished from ideas of 'learning by doing' which derive from empiricism and which tend to reduce knowledge simply to personal experience. Praxis, while it emphasises the value of the learner's experience, also places stress on the theorisation of experience, a task in which the teacher has an important role to play. Whereas empiricist approaches to knowledge focus on the surface appearance of phenomena, a Marxist approach seeks to develop knowledge which can go beyond appearances to grasp the essential structure of reality.

Integral to Gramsci's argument for the achievement of praxis, is his conception of the role of organic intellectuals. He argues that the development of organic intellectuals of the working class is essential to the ultimate attainment of working class hegemony. He describes the function of organic intellectuals, as having to connect people's historical situation with 'laws of history' and with 'superior conceptions of the world'. He argues that the extension of critical intellectual activity should occur in close linkage with the political practice of counter-hegemonic movements. He believes that people must be led to think coherently about the world and must strive to unite theory and practice. Historical materialism he believes provides the 'correct theory'. Organic intellectuals, who have a superior theoretical understanding, need to convert people's 'common sense' to 'good sense'.

As we discussed in Part Three, Freire also argues for praxis as a central concept within his epistemology. For him praxis unites thought and action and therefore avoids both empty theorising or mindless activism. But as was argued earlier, in his earlier work Freire does not give clear content to the 'theory and practice' beyond the need for the curriculum to be based on actual needs and problems relating to the context. In his later work he does, however, become more explicit about the content although the ambivalence about 'imposition of correct theory' remains in his work.

The case studies, as previously discussed, were established in Cape Town at a time when a 'radical humanism' was prevalent amongst oppositional groupings. 'Radical humanism' advocated learning by doing; it emphasised the importance of critical thinking which was to be promoted through an analysis of daily experiences and feelings; it promoted the idea that all people could potentially be leaders, therefore, they should be encouraged to be involved in all aspects of activity – this led to an anti-expert tendency where the importance of theory was minimised. A pragmatic, problem-solving, process-orientated approach to education was promoted. These tendencies were in evidence in each of the case studies to a greater or lesser degree.

In Zakhe there seems to have been a movement from an initial concentration on consciousness-raising and skills training to an attempt to develop a more coherent theoretical analysis amongst the staff. In an evaluation report of November 1980 it was stated that the staff needed to develop an 'alternative economic vision'. At this time the organisation was moving towards their new policy which aimed to facilitate the building of a cooperative movement. In the evaluation report of March 1981 the importance of the staff having 'sound knowledge and skill', in order to promote viable cooperative structures, was stressed. During 1981 and into 1982 courses were run on, for example, basic economics and cooperative principles. The in-service course in 1982 emphasised both theoretical and practical work. One of its aims was 'to integrate theory and practice'. A predominantly Marxist orientation was discernible through the course.

Zakhe's reports from late 1980 reflected a commitment to the development of a sound theoretical base for their work. However, as was argued previously, in practice the consistent development of theoretical knowledge was problematic. In Zakhe there was a tendency for theoretical work to be the responsibility of the staff with academic training. The person who was responsible for the evaluation reports in 1981 was also the university intellectual. The commitment of the whole staff to the development of coherent theory is not clear as the responsibilty for this aspect of the work was not shared equally. The more Zakhe became involved in 'collectivce action' the less possible it was for staff to engage in theoretical discussion. These discussions have happened either informally or at times of the annual evaluation when the organisation has been required for the sake of a report to funders to review their analysis of socio-economic and political conditions and their response to them. One staff person enrolled for a university diploma course in 1984 in an effort to read and develop a more coherent theoretical understanding for himself.

The participatory research project which was structured around the PR group, appears to offer some interesting insights and possibilities for the resolution of the dichotomy between theory and practice in Zakhe. For over a year Zakhe staff had a structured programme which concentrated on the theory and practice of democracy within Zakhe, and within other local community organisations in which staff were involved. A relationship was negotiated between myself as an academic researcher and the staff. As was described earlier, monthly seminars were held which were either theoretical in nature, or reflections on contemporary events. The PR group culminated its activities with the running of the Self-Management Workshop which put into practice the theory and practice covered in the previous months.

Staff have at different times expressed the view that through the participatory research process they had gained new insights and understandings of their work which they have not had before. However, no systematic summative evaluation of the PR project has been undertaken by an independent party, therefore observations here can only be speculative. Further research which focuses specifically on the value of PR as a means to achieve praxis within organisations would still need to be done.

One of the benefits of the PR project for the staff seemed to be the relationship which we developed. I as the researcher was an outsider with particular analytical skills and theoretical background which staff could draw on. Our relationship gave staff fairly ready access to particular skills and insights which they did not have. Their utilisation of me as 'the outsider' occurred on several informal and formal occasions as in the case of the 1984 Evaluation. In the PR Group there was a conscious recognition of the differences between 'practitioners' and 'researchers'. These were listed as: practitioners are 'doers' rather than 'thinkers'; they are concerned with practical implications as opposed to knowledge for its own sake; they use 'commonsense' rather than 'scientific theory' as the basis for their decisions; they are concerned with concrete outcomes. I as the researcher needed to teach certain theoretical concepts to the group; I needed to consciously stimulate the development of the move from 'common sense' to 'good sense'. I was acknowledged to have certain superior theoretical knowledge, but equally, it was recognised that I needed to be kept in touch with developments on the ground if praxis was to be achieved. Staff took responsibility for my 'education' at weekly meetings.

The experience of the PR group, Gramsci's argument for organic intellectuals to fulfill particular theoretical functions, and the evidence provided by the empirical data which showed that the organisation struggled to consistently develop coherent theoretical analyses of their work, seems to point to one possible way of tackling the problem. The tentative proposition is that: Zakhe, in order to meet their needs for the ongoing theoretical analyses of their work where 'common sense' is converted to 'good sense', should enter negotiated contracts for specific projects with appropriate outsiders. The PRA could provide a useful framework for such a relationship. This framework would ensure the integration of investigation, education and action. The development of ongoing, coherent theoretical analyses does seem to be a specialist task which requires certain intellectual skills, orientations and time. The theorising, however, if it is not to be 'empty' needs to be done as part of practice.

In CRIC the pragmatic, process orientated approach has continued to predominate. In the 1970s, after the quiescence of the 1960s, popular opposition to the apartheid regime was being mobilised. 'Conscientization' was a part of the mobilization process. CRIC was a part of this thrust as it promoted 'a free space' for teachers and students to critically analyse the apartheid society. However, as was argued previously, the terrain in which CRIC is operating has changed considerably. Greater theoretical sophistication is demanded if it is to be able to maintain its advocacy role vis a vis the state. CRIC has struggled to reinterpret its work in the light of ongoing theoretical analyses. Process issues have been dealt with more easily and more regularly than theoretical issues. In Giroux's classification they could be labelled radicals who are 'process oriented' as opposed to 'content oriented' although in more recent evaluations they have invited outsiders to assist them develop more sophisticated analyses of the society and their role in it. Thus, there are indications of a movement in CRIC towards more coherent theoretcial analyses.

In CRIC practice, rather than theory, has been of primary importance. 'Learning by doing' has been stressed rather than praxis, as described in Gramsci's work. The data has shown that there have been attempts to develop theoretical analyses at different times, e.g. the abortive monthly seminars, but the pressures of service delivery, and the priorities of the membership (which have not necessarily included development of theory) have influenced the agency's ability to engage in regular, theoretical analyses. When theoretical analyses have been developed there has in general been an eclectic use of theories. Reasons for this in all probability relate to the varying philosophical influences on CRIC and the problem and needs orientated approach taken in their work. This problem/needs orientated approach has been prominent in the workshops run for teachers and students where, for example, teachers' problems and experiences would provide the basis of a review of the role of guidance. This approach used by CRIC has much in common with the earlier work of Freire – CRIC has not propogated an explicit theoretical position. It has not wanted 'to impose' a theory. Its theory has remained implicit in its process orientated practices.

While CRIC has collectively struggled to develop coherent theoretical analyses of its work in relation to the broader society, over fifty percent of the CRIC staff have sought to gain greater practical and theoretical sophistication through enrolment in university courses. This seems to indicate a need for systematic study and a recognition that this study needs to take place in a structured way.

Within RCCT there are echoes of the anti-theoretical stances of movements in the 1960s and early 1970s, which were discussed in Part Two. In RCCT the importance of 'depending more on feel than theory' is still important for several of the members, although the differing political positions of the membership can be expected to influence opinion on the role of theory in the organisation. As illustrated previously, more recently there have been moves at the national conferences by the radical groups to introduce debate connecting national political issues to the roles and functions of rape crisis organisations nationally.

In RCCT theoretical issues which deal with socio-political concerns, have rarely been tackled in any regular way. As with CRIC, the theoretical discussions have been problem orientated and issue based. A suprising feature was that not even feminist theories were debated and discussed widely in the organisation. A reason for this, which was proferred previously, was that the leading members were perhaps very aware of the need for solidarity rather than division amongst the membership. Opening up the feminist debate could perhaps have highlighted conflicts and caused divisions. Debates around feminism happened but informally outside of the organisation. The lack of theoretical debate was, however, also consistent with the prevailing ethos within the organisation at the time.

In the case studies the dangers inherent in the situation where ongoing theoretical analysis does not occur, were mentioned earlier. The major danger seems to be that the advocacy roles which the agencies have defined for themselves can, without regular reassessment, convert into maintenance roles which have a conservative result. The need for ongoing coherent analysis therefore becomes an imperative for organisations committed to working towards social transformation.

IN SUMMARY

The importance of theoretical knowledge was emphasised in the work of Gramsci and Freire. The differences between praxis on the one hand and 'learning by doing' on the other were raised. The empirical data indicated that all the cases struggled to develop coherent theoretical analyses. Zakhe recognised the need for more coherent theoretical approaches and at different times had 'specialists' to assist. The PR Project and the attendance of university courses by CRIC and Zakhe members seems to indicate a recognition of the difficulty of acquiring theoretical sophistication 'on the job'. A more consciously structured approach to ongoing theoretical analyses seems to be warranted.

Zakhe appears to be striving, although erratically, towards achieving praxis as described by Gramsci. RCCT has generally been inclined to adopt a 'learning by doing' approach where knowledge is based on personal experience. CRIC has also tended to emphasise process rather than content orientated in its work.

Gramsci clearly advocated Marxism as the 'correct theory' for an analysis of the state and its transformation. In general, the case studies have had an eclectic approach to bodies of knowledge with the exception of Zakhe which has adopted a Marxist orientated analysis since 1981/2. The theoretical analyses used by organisations will influence their strategies – Zakhe has since 1982 been working as part of a popular movement for change. In CRIC and RCCT the approaches were less concerned with theoretical coherence and more with consciousness-raising and service delivery – their theory has been more eclectic.

'Theoretical knowledge' plays different roles in different social theories. The attitude of organisations to theoretical knowledge does give an indication of their implicit social theories. It therefore is a useful analytical tool in the studying of self-educational strategies. It may, however, have proved more useful had the study included an analysis of all educational aspects of the organisations' work. This would have given a far more substantial body of material from which to discern the complex, underlying assumptions about the role of theoretical knowledge. This was beyond the scope of this research project.

Action and critical reflection

The action-reflection couplet echoes several of the concerns which were raised in both the discussions on 'theoretical knowledge' and on 'internal and external accountability'. The couplet is central to the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge which Freire and Gramsci advocate. Both argue for the integration of education and political action. However, the meaning of 'political action' in Freire's work is not clearly spelt out. In Gramsci's view the revolutionary party must play a fundamental role in a transformation from capitalism to socialism. The relationship to the party therefore becomes an important question for education. In both the works of Freire and Gramsci, however, varying degrees of ambiguity are discernible in their viewson: the need for spontaneity on the one hand and political organisation on the other; and between political action on the one hand and participatory democracy on the other.

This latter tension is at the heart of radical education as propogated by Freirian and Gramscian theories. The nub of this tension is that on one hand the theorists advocate political action, which will inevitably on occasion require the disciplined following of orders, while on the other hand they advocate involvement in the planning, decision-making and evaluation as an essential element in the promotion and development of 'organic intellectuals' or 'critical actors in the world'. In the empirical data the tension between political action and participatory democratic practices was present to varying degrees and has been discussed previously in this chapter. The tension is central to the action-reflection couplet as it was in the discussion of internal and external accountability and the discussion of theoretical knowledge.

For the study of self-education within the agencies it was stated earlier that the 'action' probe can relate to the activities within the organisation, as suggested by the LBP theorists, or it can relate to political action as advocated by Perlman, Gramsci and Freire. Perlman argued that only by engaging in action which challenged the status quo would new knowledge be generated for analysis. Freire and Gramsci argued that action and critical reflection were crucial components of the education process. The difference between Perlman and the LBP theorists is that Perlman is most concerned with political consciousness raising, while the LBP theorists are concerned with any form of learning which occurs through participation. The difference between Perlman and Gramsci is that Perlman, like Freire, does not elaborate on the meaning of political action. She does not describe her theory of social change nor does she give any indication about the goals for change. For Gramsci class struggle is at the centre of his theory of transformation.

Critical reflection, as mentioned above, is seen to be an essential part of 'action'. The form that critical reflection should take, however, is not elaborated.

Within the three case studies 'action' refers most frequently to the implementation of the services provided by the agencies. It does not refer to political action as such, although the development of certain of the services e.g. talks on a feminist interpretation of rape, is done in the light of assumptions concerning social change.

Critical reflection on the action has occurred most often in structured evaluation meetings. It is, therefore, an integral part of the participatory democratic practices of the organisations. Within CRIC critical reflection has occurred in quarterly and annual evaluations. In RCCT it has occurred in occasional workshops, and in Zakhe besides the Democratic Processes Working Group, it has occurred in annual evaluations, and occasional 'feedback sessions'.

CRIC has most consistently and deliberately reflected on its 'action'. The action has been clearly defined at regular planning sessions after critical evaluations have been done. On the other hand CRIC, as described above, struggled to develop a coherent theoretical position at different times. There were a number of reasons proferred for this, but perhaps the most relevant in this context, was the organisation's emphasis on a process orientated approach where analyses were inclined to concentrate on surface phenomena. 'Action and reflection', particularly as described in Freire's earlier work, was taken seriously in CRIC. But the 'action' component was used to describe the tasks at hand rather than political action. The 'critical reflection' on their work through the evaluations was regarded by most of the staff as a very important part of their self-education at CRIC.

Zakhe, which has been most closely involved in political action, has found it difficult to balance the action component with critical reflection. The closer Zakhe has been to political action the more difficult critical reflection seems to have become. However, the closer it has come to political action the more it has emphasised the need for coherent theoretical knowledge.

The tension experienced in Zakhe illustrates the tension imbedded within the radical educaton thesis as described above. The empirical data has shown that at times in Zakhe 'political action' has dominated while at others the participatory democratic impulses have held sway. The social and political context, and changes in that context over time, have determined to a large degree what has been possible within the organisation at a given 'moment'.

Summary

The 'action' component has been described as referring to either the internal tasks of the organisations or the political action in which organisations are engaged. The type of 'action' that the organisations are involved in does give an indication of their underlying assumptions about social change and their roles in it. The 'action' tool, like the other two, i.e. 'theoretical knowledge' and 'participatory democratic processes', does provide a useful probe to analyse the self-education strategies of community organisations. 'Critical reflection', on the other hand, while being an essential element in the self-education process is incorporated as a key component into the participatory democratic practices of organisations. Therefore it is not particularly useful as a separate analytical tool.

IN CONCLUSION

The aim of this study has been 'to describe and explain the self-educational practices within community organisations at a particular historical junture.' An inductive rather than a deductive research approach was used. One reason for this was that no coherent body of literature exists that could have provided a theoretical framework for the study. A set of analytical 'tools' were developed out of both the empirical data and the radical education literature to assist with the research enquiry.

A SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

1. This study has shown that Education for Democratic Participation has been a central concern for the organisations in this study and for community adult educators internationally. However the investigation has revealed that 'democratic participation' has a wide range of meanings which are continuously negotiated and contested. They are determined by a range of economic, political, social, historical and ideological forces at a particular 'moment'.
2. The study has demonstrated that self-education consists of nonformal and informal educational strategies which are in many instances an integral part of the structures, goals and processes of community organisations. These structures, goals and processes are influenced by the broader context. The study of self-education can therefore only be accomplished by studying simultaneously the organisational and social contexts.
3. The study acknowledged both the importance and the difficulty of attempting to demonstrate the dialectical relationship between the micro organisational processes and the macro forces. A number of strategies were successfully used. These included a detailed tracing of the origins of the organisations; use of a 'critical incident' methodology; and the use of democratic theories as tools for analysis. The latter tool was used because'democratic theories' describe both macro and micro relationships. The theories very usefully highlighted some of the underlying theoretical assumptions concerning social change which were imbedded within the case studies. The various interpretations of the concepts of

accountability and authority proved to be critical, differential components within the democratic theories.

4. Significant characteristics of self-education within the case studies, which were also reflected in other community organisations in Cape Town in the early 1980s and which were demonstrably influenced by the prevailing ideological, political, economic and social forces, were:

- a concern for leadership development amongst those groups and individuals who were perceived to be oppressed;
- organisational process was recognised as a key educational arena – organisational practice emphasised the educational value for members of both means and ends;
- there were various tensions imbedded within the organisational practices i.e. between individualism and collectivism, action and reflection, internal and external accountability, consensus and conflict, theory and practice; * the organisations had difficulty in developing coherent theoretical analysis of the state or of social change.

5. Essential components for both the practice and the analysis of education for democratic participation were found to be: action, which can consist of either service delivery or political action or both; democratic participatory practices, which entail collective participation in decision-making, in planning and evaluation, sharing of information and skills, and joint responsibility for staff appointments; coherent theoretical knowledge if the organisation is to maintain an advocacy role in the community.

'Action', 'theoretical knowledge' and 'participatory democratic practices' provided very useful analytical tools for the study of self-education. The additional 'tool' which is also crucial, but which was referred to separately under both numbers 2 and 3 above, was 'the relationship between macro and micro contexts'.

The three 'tools' focusing on the internal organisational processes were uneven in size and complexity. They attempted to break down for analytical purposes highly integrated activities. This proved to be a valid but difficult exercise. The content of the 'tools' inevitably overlapped to some degree with one another. The content was given initially both through reviews of the literature and through participant observation. The tools were honed and elaborated through the research process.

The analytical tools which were developed provided very useful mechanisms for probing the political and social theories imbedded within the organisations. While in the literature on community adult education some classifications have been developed which label educational practices 'conservative, reformist or revolutionary', I have argued, and this study has demonstrated the inadequacy of these classifications. The analytical tools developed here provide far more sophisticated probes for analysing community adult education. While this study did not set out to develop analytical tools which could have wider, more general usage in the analysis of community adult education, this has been a significant outcome of the research.

6. The study identified some of the major contradictions within education for democratic participation. These included within the participatory democratic processes: the relationships between internal and external accountability, between theory and practice, and between action and reflection, between consensus and conflict, and between individualism and collectivism. It also revealed the problems with the achievement of the ideal balance which Perlman[10] argued for between content, process and political action – a fundamental contradiction was identified between participatory democratic practice and political action.

One of the important functions of the analytical tools has been their focus on contradictions. As Gelpi[11] has said, research should be directed towards the contradictions within society.

7. Self-education or education for democratic participation within the case studies was concerned to develop the capabilities of members to participate actively in their organisations. The crucial components of these educational practices which were summarised above were: participatory democratic practices, action, and the development of coherent theoretical understandings of the state and social change. However, education for democratic participation which sought primarily to challenge the political status quo emphasised the need, alongside the above components, to engage specifically in political action. This engagement again highlighted very forcibly the contradiction between 'education' on the one hand and 'political action' on the other. This contradiction is at the heart of radical educational practice.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This investigation has necessarily been circumscribed. It therefore has certain inherent limitations. One of the major limitations, which has been mentioned in the study and which needs to be reiterated, is the lack of a coherent body of literature which could provide a solid and specific theoretical base for the study. This study has therefore had to pioneer the field. Some of the other limitations will be mentioned briefly.

1. This study has primarily been of a descriptive and explanatory nature. It has not attempted to evaluate the effectiveness of the self-education strategies which have been employed by the different organisations. An evaluative study could provide an important additional perspective on self-education within voluntary associations.
2. The investigation focused on self-education within the organisations, which meant that attention was not given to other educational activities conducted by the agencies. Educational programmes used for example in teacher training at CRIC, or in consciousness raising amongst the public by RCCT were not analysed. A study of these educational programmes would add to the study of the educational theories which are imbedded within theorganisations' work.
3. The case studies were resource and service agencies. By definition the members of resource and service agencies are likely to be petit bourgeois, thus this research project was not able to contribute to an increased understanding of working class organisations. This is a serious limitation of the study.
4. There were very few secondary sources which could be utilised for the investigation. This limited the extent of the research project.

FURTHER RESEARCH

This investigation is one of the first of its kind to be done in South Africa. It has therefore opened up many possibilities for futher research. Suggestions which flow directly from the study itself will be offered here.

1. An important tension was identified within the case studies between attitudes towards individualism on the one hand and collectivism on the other. This tension requires closer investigation as it would seem to hold

important implications for self-education within the organisations. One example of a question which was raised in the study was: what is the impact of social class on the attitudes of the members to individualism and collectivism? This issue relates to the need for research into working class voluntary associations from a range of different perspectives.

2. The Participatory Research Approach was employed during the course of the research. The study raised a number of questions and issues relating to the PRA, but it was outside the parameters of the study to address them systematically. The PRA was shown to have both strengths and weaknesses; these need to be researched more specifically.
3. Evaluative research studies of the various educational strategies and programmes developed by voluntary associations are needed for both academic purposes and for use by members of organisations.
4. The usefulness of the analytical tools, which have been identified through this study, need to be tested for the analysis of community adult education more generally.
5. Analyses of the bourgeois hegemonic crises which occurred in the societies in which the radical educational theorists were working need to be developed further in order be able to identify more closely the relationships between particular educational forms and the broader contexts.

NOTES TO PART SIX

Chapter Twelve

1. R. Gombin 1978 THE RADICAL TRADITION: A STUDY IN MODERN REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT London: Methuen and Co. Ltd.
2. See Part Three Chapter Five
3. The divisions within the UDF and between the UDF and other groupings were discussed during informal conversations with people from Zakhe and Grassroots Newsletter amongst others, during April and May 1985.
4. This is elaborated in C. A. Bowers 'The problem with individualism and community in Neo-Marxist educational thought' in TEACHERS COLLEGE RECORD Vol. 85 No. 3, Spring 1984
5. Quoted in Bowers *ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. E. Cagan 'Individualism, collectivism and radical educational reform' in HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol. 48 No. 2 May 1978
8. Mao Tse-Tung 1968 FOUR ESSAYS ON PHILOSOPHY Peking: Foreign Language Press p. 20
9. F. Youngman 1986 ADULT EDUCATION AND SOCIALIST PEDAGOGY London: Croom Helm p. 109
10. See Part Two Chapter Four
11. Gelpi 1979 p. 28

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SOCIAL REVIEW

SOLIDARITY

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SOUTH AFRICAN OUTLOOK

STATE OF THE NATION

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT(UDF) NEWS

WORK IN PROGRESS (WIP)

APPENDIX ONE

A CHECKLIST OF CATEGORIES FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF THE CASES

A number of categories emerged as potentially important for the study of the community resource and service agencies from scrutinising the documentation and from a period of participant observation within Zakhe; from experience within the Democratic Processes Work Group; and from participant observation within four other community organisations in which I was actively involved over an eighteen month period. A type of checklist was developed at an early stage which was grounded within these experiences. This checklist provided the framework for the questions to interviewees from the agencies, and for the collection of data from the organisations' documentation.

The six primary categories were:

- background and history
- organisational structures, goals and strategies
- education, training and development of members
- internal processes and procedures
- relationships with other organisations
- problems and constraints which affect the organisation's functioning.

On one level it was necessary to obtain insight into the *formal* arrangements within the agencies. These included:

> history; aims and objectives; control structure; decision-making structures; division of labour; formal leadership; communication systems; nonformal education; funding; employment practices i. e. conditions of employment, procedures for employment, incentive structures, career advancement, integration procedures for new staff, training; disciplinary procedures; financial controls; formal accountability internally and externally.

On another level the *informal* functioning was important. Important categories to emerge were:

informal communication networks; relationships between staff; power distribution; differences in styles, ideologies; attitudes to criticism; informal education; tension between tasks and processes; decision-making; leadership; meetings; role of sub- committees; status differences amongst staff and amongst functions; standards; use of external consultants; evaluation; reports; theory and practice; skills sharing; areas of conflict; criteria for 'democratic' practice,theoretically and practically.

The relationship of the organisations to the *external context* was another primary area. This included:

the membership i. e. social class, gender, language, race classification; the historical, political, social, ideological and economic conditions; and the relationships with other organisations.

The final important area related to the *constraints* imposed on the organisation by internal or external circumstances. These included contradictions and limitations imbedded within the organisation.

APPENDIX TWO

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE 1984 NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF RAPE CRISIS ORGANISATIONS, HELD IN CAPE TOWN (RCCT July 1985 Newsletter)

RESOLUTION ONE

A statement of principle is needed to make the connection between rape and the broader political/social concerns and to align Rape Crisis/POWA to democratic groups against sexism, racism and exploitation, towards building a truly democratic society.

RESOLUTION TWO

POWA and Rape Crisis Centres note with great concern that only 40 incest and rape survivors received legal abortions last year. There are an estimated 150,000 rapes in South Africa every year. Ten percent of women who were assisted by the Pietermaritzburg Rape Crisis Centre in 1982 fell pregnant as a result of rape. Generalised to the whole country, this would mean that 15,000 women would have been forced to seek illegal and dangerous backstreet abortions or to carry the unwanted and traumatic pregnancy to full term.

We demand the right for all rape and incest survivors and all women with unwanted pregnancies to decide for themselves whether they want an abortion, and we condemn the state which robs women of this choice which should rightfully be theirs.

RESOLUTION THREE

POWA and RC Centres urge all hospitals throughout South Africa to follow the example of Tygerberg Hospital and set up a 24 hour crisis service for survivors of rape, incest and battery.

RESOLUTION FOUR

Noting:

1. That we organise around violence against women and oppose violence against all people;

2. That the state uses military and institutionalised violence to control the people of South Africa;
3. That violence breeds violence;

This National Conference therefore condemns:

1. Forced removals and resettlement
2. the enforcement of the migrant labour system and the use of violence in doing so
3. Increasing militarisation in South Africa
4. Detentions, bannings and imprisonment of political opponents of the government

RESOLUTION FIVE

We resolve to carefully consider and be cautious in our dealings with organisations, government and other,whose aims and objectives appear to be in conflict with out own.

RESOLUTION SIX

We are concerned about the sexual abuse of children in South Africa and the taboos surrounding the issue, which is detrimental to such children and we call for more research into the causes and problems surrounding child molestation with a view to appropriate action being taken.

RESOLUTION SEVEN

We resolve to make a concerted effort to encourage women with children to join Rape Crisis and to provide child care whenever possible, to accept children being present at meetings and to show them the same sensitivity and tolerance we strive to give our sisters.

RESOLUTION EIGHT

We strive to make our organisations accessible to differently abled people.

APPENDIX THREE

QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED TO RAPE CRISIS MEMBERS

Please complete and return this questionnaire to Ingrid at the office. Thanks for your cooperation.

Democracy

1 What are the criteria *you* look for in judging whether an organisation is democratic or not?

2 Using your criteria, is Rape Crisis a 'democratic' organisation? Please elaborate.

3 Is it important for Rape Crisis to be a 'democratic organisation'? Please elaborate.

Your participation in Rape Crisis

4 Are you an 'active' or 'support' member?

5 If you are a *support member* have you been active in the past? Over what time period? Why are you no longer active?

6 If you are an *active member*, how long have you been involved? What activities have you been involved in?

7 From your experience, what has been done in Rape Crisis to encourage your participation in the various activities?

8 From your experience, what has been done knowingly or unknowingly, to discourage your participation in the various activities?

9 How useful have you found the following activites in helping your own participation in Rape Crisis? Please explain.

- training course
- general meetings
- skills workshops e.g. counselling, public speaking etc.
- policy and review workshops
- newsletter
- national conference
- rotating office-bearers
- social gatherings e.g. parties
- other

Gripes

10 What are the major gripes you have about the way Rape Crisis operates?

11 What suggestions do you have for overcoming the problems that you have identified?

NAME:
OCCUPATION:
MEMBERSHIP OF THE OTHER ORGANISATIONS:

Thank you, now please hand your questionnaire in before its forgotten!

APPENDIX FOUR

A SYNOPSIS OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

YEARS	TOTAL	CULTURAL	STUDENT & YOUTH	POLITICAL	COMMUNITY WORK	WOMEN	EDUCATION RESEARCH INFORMATION	SPECIAL INTEREST	RESOURCE	CIVIC
1957-1963	17		2	2	1		5	2	5	
1964-1969	9		2				7			
TOTAL	26	0	4	2	1	0	12	2	5	0
1970-1975	33	2	4	2	11	1	11		1	1
1976-1979	45	9	4	1	3	4	15	3	5	1 Fed 14 Affils
TOTAL	78	11	8	3	14	5	26	3	6	2 (1 Fed)
1980-1982	56	4	7	2	0	5	25	5	1	2 Feds 3 Ind. 2 Ac.gps
1983-1984	30	7	6	4	0	1	8 1 Advice Forum	4	0	
1985	79	1	20	4	1	1	32	8	10	2 ac.gps
TOTAL	165	12	33	10	1	7	65	17	11	9

NONFORMAL
EDUCATION
THESIS SERIES

There is a dearth of published work on adult education theory and practice in South Africa at present. There are however a growing number of students of adult education who are studying for advanced diplomas, masters or doctoral degrees. Several students are now producing research papers and theses of merit. In most cases a single copy is lodged in the university library and is inaccessible to more than a handful of students.

At CACE we have decided to begin an *Adult and Nonformal Education Thesis Series* in order to make the academic work in the field more widely available. We acknowledge that academic theses have limitations as publications. They are written in a particular style and for a particular academic audience. Most often it would be preferable to have the work rewritten for a wider, more popular audience. However, very few academic theses are reworked in this form. We therefore have decided to publish certain theses in order to contribute towards improved scholarship in the field of adult and nonformal education. We hope that in due course, with the proliferation of more publications in the field, this series will become redundant.

This publication is the first of the new series. The thesis is one of the first studies in South Africa which focuses on the development of nonformal educational theory within community organisations. It deals specifically with self-education within a set of organisations in Cape Town where a primary concern was the promotion of democratic participation among their members. The work contains three rich and diverse case studies which give important insights into the workings of community organisations within the present conjuncture in South Africa. A participatory research methodology was used and the thesis also throws important light on the strengths and weaknesses of this approach.

The publication of the series, and of this thesis in particular, has been motivated by requests from both academics and activists, from South Africa and elsewhere, who are interested in studying developments within the field of adult and nonformal education in Southern Africa.

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